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ABSTRACT

A conference held at the Center for Educational Policy and Management, Eugene (Oregon), in July 1981 addressed the topic of "Creating Conditions for Effective Teaching." The subjects covered include the implications of research on teacher effectiveness, collective bargaining, and school governance. At each of these three sessions, a paper was presented and then discussed by designated respondents as well as by conference participants in general. Both the papers and edited transcripts of the discussions are included in the proceedings. A fourth session summarized the conference and offered ideas for future research on school improvement. (WD)

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CREATING CONDITIONS FOR EFFECTIVE TEACHING:
Proceedings of a Conference held
on
July 17-18, 1981,
at the
Center for Educational Policy and Management

Edited by

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November, 1981

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Preface

This volume presents the proceedings of a conference on "Creating Conditions for Effective Teaching," held at the Center for Educational Policy and Management, University of Oregon, on July 17 and 18, 1981. The conference was supported in part by funds from the National Institute of Education. It marked the culmination of two years of revising the Center's research mission and reorganizing its research programs. During that time, a number of developments took place that the conference sought to integrate and summarize:

1. Several new research projects were funded or approved for funding in the areas of collective bargaining, administrator-teacher work relationships, and inservice education, among others.

2. A paper, "Lining Educational Policy and Management with Student Achievement," was written setting forth a new paradigm for research at CEPM.

3. Additional conceptual papers were written on the impact on school administration of recent history in law and regulation, professional organization, and community activism.

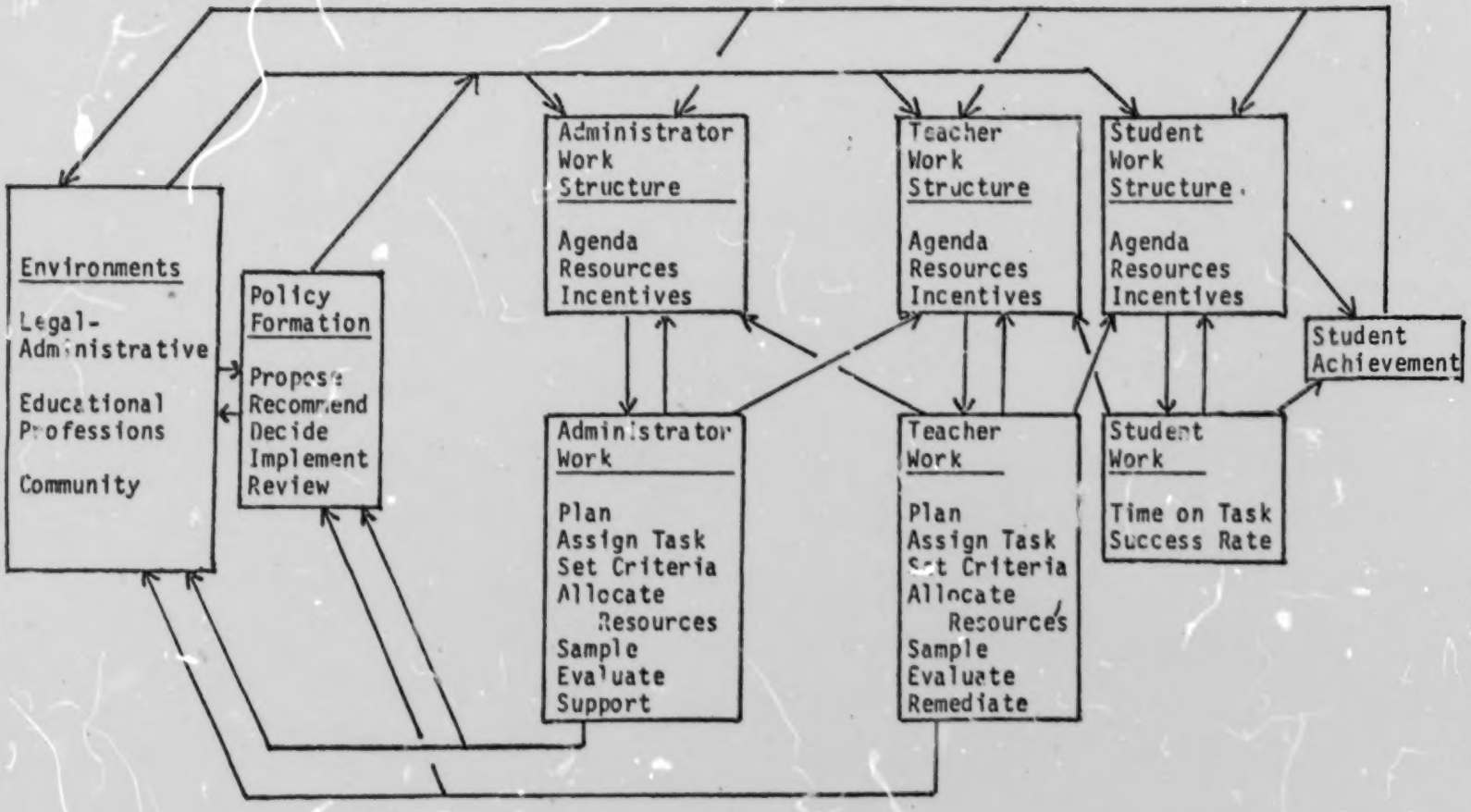
4. At CEPM, working teams of researchers, practitioners, and politically-active citizens were drafting a strategy for making research more relevant and useful to current issues in educational policy and management.

5. CEPM was extending its network of colleagues at other R & D institutions around the nation.

The 1981 conference, which we hope to be the first of many, focused on school conditions that influence teaching effectiveness and administrators' discretionary opportunities to improve those conditions.

Three formal sessions were conducted that correspond to the three segments of the Center's research paradigm which is displayed on the following page. These sessions dealt with conditions of effective teaching, administrative influence on those conditions, and role perceptions of administrators that

Figure 1. The Full CEPM Research Paradigm



may impede attempts at such influence. A fourth session was devoted to summarizing the conference and its implications for school improvement.

The first session, "Professional Development: Implications of Teacher Effectiveness Research," grew out of the paradigm's segment on teaching and learning as structured interaction. Research on direct instructional techniques, such as the University of Oregon's DISTAR program, and on effective teaching in general, such as the Beginning Teacher Evaluation Study, has convinced us that school productivity can rise with systematic improvement of certain teacher performance variables. Efforts to induce such improvement, and school conditions that can hinder such improvement, are therefore of great interest. We posed four questions for this session:

1. What suggestions can researchers give to administrators about effective teaching?
2. How can teachers be persuaded and prepared to use effective teaching techniques (e.g., direct instruction)?
3. How should professional development activities be organized?
4. What role should administrators play in such activities?

CEPM commissioned a paper for this session from Jane Stallings, who at the Stanford Research Institute conducted a widely-known evaluation study of Follow Through programs that gave high marks to direct instructional programs. Stallings is now director of the Teaching and Learning Institute in Mountain View, California, where she had developed teacher inservice education programs that improve practice in secondary school remedial reading classes. From her experience, she draws a number of implications for administrators who wish to facilitate improvement of teacher practice. We asked three people to comment on Stallings' paper: William Cooley,

professor of education at the University of Pittsburgh and director of evaluation studies at the Learning Research and Development Center; Robert Slavin, research scientist at the Center for Social Organization of Schools, Johns Hopkins University; and Richard Herman, former director of teacher education and present Associate Provost for Research at the University of Oregon. For each of the sessions, the reactors' comments, edited and abridged, follow the formal presentation.

The second session, "Instructional Leadership: Implications of Collective Bargaining Research," was suggested by the paradigm's middle segment, which emphasizes the problematic influence of administrators on teachers' work. While Stallings suggests how administrators can facilitate improved instruction, this portion of the paradigm explores how administrators can influence teachers' level of effort. Recent debates about the importance of strong administrative leadership for school effectiveness make it critical to identify barriers to leadership, and collective bargaining has been thought to pose such a barrier. Hence, we posed the following questions for this session:

1. What do we know about attempts of administrators to supervise teaching work?
2. How is collective bargaining, especially contract language, affecting such attempts?
3. Where are teachers likely to turn for instructional leadership in the future (e.g., colleagues, professional associations)?
4. What is the prognosis for teaching effectiveness under these conditions?

The commissioned paper for this session is by Susan Moore Johnson, a researcher at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. Johnson's case

studies of school-by-school variation in districts operating under collective bargaining agreements emphasize the range of administrative discretion and teacher responses to calls for increased effort. The three reactors for this session were Elizabeth Cohen, professor of education and sociology at Stanford University and researcher at the Center for Educational Research at Stanford; Charles Clemans, superintendent of schools in Oregon City, Oregon, and a member of CEPM's committee on legal-administrative processes; and Randall Eberts, professor of economics at the University of Oregon and researcher on collective bargaining at CEPM.

Session III, "District Instructional Policy: Implications of School Governance Research," addressed the left most segment of the paradigm, which situates administrative discretion in the problematic context of district policy formation processes and the environmental forces impinging thereon. Evidence of loose coupling of district policy and classroom instruction has been found recurrently in recent organizational research in education. Moreover, school districts have not been found to be responsive to disaffected clients, although there seems to be a vague and general congruence of values between school administrators and their constituencies. Dissociated and ambiguous instructional policy might handicap the efforts of teachers and administrators to improve instruction discussed in Sessions I and II. Furthermore, policy that ignores community criticism or comment would seem to expose schools to a deterioration of community resources and support for the instructional program. With these thoughts in mind, we posed the following questions for this session:

1. What influence do community groups and individuals have on district instructional policy?

2. What congruence or conflict exists between district interests in instructional program stability and responsiveness to community preferences?

3. How does district governance affect administrators' efforts at professional development and instructional leadership?

4. Is the policy formation process a productive focus for efforts to improve school instructional outcomes?

Rather than commission a new paper for this session, we asked Harmon Zeigler, professor of political science at the University of Oregon and researcher on conflict management at CEPM, to describe some of his recent research on district responsiveness and on educational administrators' perceptions of conflict. His text is a recent research report, "A Comparison of the Source and Substance of Conflict in Educational and Municipal Governance," submitted to the National Institute of Education. In these proceedings, we include an edited version of his actual remarks rather than the research report itself. Zeigler focuses on the contrast between the highly conflictual world of the city manager and the perceived placidity of the school administrator's world. Reactors to Zeigler's presentation were Betty Jane Narver, research associate at the University of Washington's Graduate School of Public Affairs and affiliate of Seattle's Citizens' Education Center Northwest; Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin, research scientist at the Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California, where she was a principal investigator of the study, "Federal Programs Supporting Educational Change"; and James Kelly, professor of psychology at the University of Oregon and coauthor of a paper commissioned by CEPM on "Community Influence on Schools and Student Learning."

For the final session of the conference, CEPM asked three researchers characterized by the breadth of their knowledge of schools to summarize the main points of the conference proceedings and to suggest future actions

by CEPM to improve the paradigm, improve research conducted at CEPM, and bring research to bear on school improvement efforts. Discussants included Daniel Duke, formerly professor of education at Stanford University and about to assume the directorship of the new program in educational administration at Lewis and Clark College, Portland, Oregon; Harriet Doss Willis, vice-president for programs at CEMREL, a regional laboratory in St. Louis, Missouri; and W.W. Charters, Jr., professor of education at the University of Oregon and researcher at CEPM. Edited and abridged transcripts of their comments are presented.

We wish to take this opportunity to thank all of the conference participants once again. Their contributions exceeded our charge to them. They came not only to speak but also to listen. One of the most encouraging aspects of the conference was the degree to which researchers and educators from disparate backgrounds found that they had something to learn from one another.

The editors of these proceedings wish also to acknowledge the painstaking work of Terri Williams in preparing transcripts of session comments from tapes of varying quality and of Sissel Lemke in typing the edited comments. In addition, we are indebted to CEPM faculty and research assistants who helped to summarize the small group discussions: Jane Arends, Meredith Gall, Douglas Carnine, Mary Ann Carmack, Bruce Bowers, Carolyn Lane, Lynde Paule, Wayne Padover, and Michael Pearring. Finally, credit belongs to Robert Mattson, director of CEPM, for his support and encouragement of this event.

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

Thursday, July 16

6-9 PM	Reception at Collier House, UO Faculty Club

Friday, July 17

9-10 AM	Introduction and General Orientation Robert Mattson, Director, CEPM Kenneth Duckworth, Associate Director, CEPM
10-12	Session I. Professional Development: Implications of Teacher Effectiveness Research
	Presenter: Jane Stallings, Teaching and Learning Institute
	Discussants: William Cooley, University of Pittsburgh Robert Slavin, Johns Hopkins University Richard Hersh, CEPM
12-1:30 PM	Lunch
1:30-2:30 PM	Small Group Discussions
2:30-4:30 PM	Session II. Instructional Leadership: Implications of Collective Bargaining Research
	Presenter: Susan Moore Johnson, Harvard University
	Discussants: Elizabeth Cohen, Stanford University Charles Clemans, Oregon City School District Randall Eberts, CEPM
6 PM	Salmon Bake

Saturday, July 18

9-11 AM	Session III. District Instructional Policy: Implications of School Governance Research
	Presenter: Harmon Zeigler
	Discussants: Betty Jane Narver, University of Washington Milbrey McLaughlin, Rand Corporation James Kelly, CEPM
11-12:30	Small Group Discussions
12:30-2:00 PM	Lunch
2-4 PM	Session IV. Conference Implications for Research and School Improvement
	Discussants: Daniel Duke, Stanford University Harriet Doss Willis, CEMREL W. W. Charters, Jr., CEPM

Session I

Professional Development:

Implications of Teacher Effectiveness Research

Session I

What Research Has to Say to Administrators of Secondary Schools About Effective Teaching and Staff Development

Jane Stallings

Seldom before in the history of education have school administrators been confronted with such a combination of problems that include dwindling student populations, decreasing budgets, decreasing test scores, increasing community expectations and collective bargaining. Since most administrators in schools today were trained in the 1940's, 1950's and 1960's, little of their formal education provided methods for solving these problems. While there is a burgeoning body of research on effective classroom teaching there has been very little research to guide effective school practices and policies. Studies of school program in the late 1960's and early 1970's concluded that compensatory education money spent to provide better libraries, laboratories, school services and staff training did nothing to improve the achievement level of students (Coleman, 1966; Herrnstein, 1971; Jencks, 1972; Mosteller and Monynihan, 1972). In fact, by the mid-seventies test scores had plummeted to an all time low even for college bound high school students. Another segment of the high school population had not even mastered functional skills in reading, writing and computation. High schools in the 1970's inherited from the elementary schools extensive remediation problems resulting in part from the general practice of passing students along to the next grade regardless of academic achievement. Ultimately the secondary schools have borne the heaviest indictment for graduating incompetent students. Parents in several sections of the country sued school districts for not providing adequate schooling. The response of 47 states has been to enact

legislation requiring students to pass minimum standards for graduation. In many states this legislation includes provisions for classes to remediate secondary students.

Research in Secondary Schools

Research during the 1970's in elementary and secondary schools does provide some guidance for effective practice. Essentially, researchers observed in samples of classrooms and identified how teachers organized their work and how they spent their time in classrooms where students made achievement gains. The following sections report findings from studies of secondary classrooms and schools.

Clarity in First Day Organization and Planning

Work by Carolyn Evertson (1979) focused upon first-day organization of 102 junior high school English and math classrooms. Several characteristics differentiated more and less effective teacher-managers. In classrooms where there was less student misbehavior and more student gain through the year:

1) Teachers made rules, consequences and procedures clear on the first day. This included teachers monitoring the students and following through with consequences for those who did not comply.

2) Teachers established a system of student responsibility and accountability for work on the first day.

3) Teachers were skillful in organizing several instructional activities.

The Element of Time and Students on Task

A study by Stallings, Cory, Fairweather and Needels (1978), illuminated a number of instructional strategies that are effective in teaching basic skills in secondary schools. These include management of class time, interactive instruction, and focus of instruction.

Management of Time

In 14 schools the length of the class period ranged from 40-55 minutes. Such time differences were not related to gain in reading. Student learning depended upon how the available time was used. In classrooms where teachers were efficient in making assignments and allocating materials there was more time available for instruction and students gained more in reading. It is important to start on time and continue until the closing bell rings. The distribution of time across several activities during the class period was also an effective strategy for keeping students on task. Effective teachers who helped secondary students who read at the 1st to 4th-grade level gain up to two grade levels in one school year distributed time in the following way:

Instruction-giving examples, explanations, linking to student experience	16%
Review, discussion of seatwork and story content	12%
Drill and practice to help memorize	4%
Oral reading in small groups	21%
Silent reading	9%
Written assignments	4%

The percentage of time allocated to each of these activities varied across classrooms according to the achievement level of students. Interestingly, an ample amount of oral reading was helpful for the low achieving students, but was not so important for students achieving about the 4th-grade level. The oral reading was handled through lessons where vocabulary had been carefully developed, and where teachers helped students develop work concepts within a small group setting of students with similar reading skills. Students who are operating at this level need to hear and say

the words as well as read and write the words. These students can usually pronounce or sound out words but often do not understand words in the context of a story. Secondary students' comprehension scores are often lower than their vocabulary scores. Oral reading allows the teacher to hear the students' reading problems, ask clarifying questions, provide explanations to help students comprehend new words, and link the meaning to students' prior experience or knowledge.

Students who were in classrooms where slight or no gain was made spent more time than other students on written assignments (28%) and silent reading (21%). They had less instruction, discussion/review, and drill/practice. Some of these students were assigned to spend entire periods working in workbooks with very little instruction from the teacher. Such classrooms often registered more student misbehavior. Students with reading problems are likely to have shorter attention spans and the opportunity to be involved in several activities during one class period seemed to help these students stay on-task. (See Appendix A for these data.)

Interactive Supportive Instruction

During the study of how teachers allocated time to various classroom activities it became clear that teachers who were interactive in their teaching style had students who achieved more in reading. This interactive style included providing oral instruction for new work, discussing and reviewing students' work, providing drill and practice, asking questions, acknowledging correct responses and supportively correcting wrong responses.

It was important that teachers try to include all students in classroom discussions and review sessions. The effective teachers did not call upon volunteers but rather called upon a particular student. When volunteers are solicited, the same people take part each day and many students may not

be involved at all. When calling a student by name it is important to ask a question at a level where the student is most likely to be successful. However, if the student gives an incorrect response it is important that the instructor stay with that student and rephrase the question or give a clue so that the student can succeed and give a correct answer. A wrong answer can provide an opportunity for the teacher to clarify and reteach, if necessary. It is important in secondary remedial classrooms that wrong responses are handled in a supportive manner since research indicates these students do not thrive on demeaning experiences of failure.

This interactive type of instruction is important when teaching subjects other than remedial reading. Tom Good (1980) found junior high school students learned more mathematics in classrooms where teachers were active in their instruction. These teachers made assignments and provided information in a clear manner. They asked students appropriate questions and provided immediate feedback to student responses. Unfortunately many teachers of general math students are not active in their teaching style. In a study of math classes in 11 schools, Stallings and Robertson (1979) found that teachers more often told general math students to do written workbook assignments in class and less often gave them instruction or review of seatwork than they did students in geometry or calculus classes (See Appendix B). In classrooms where students are more involved more achievement occurs. Students in general math or pre-algebra were off-task significantly more often than were students in algebra II, geometry, or calculus classes.

Eleven of the teachers in the study were observed in both lower and advanced math classes. When the observations of the teachers were compared, we found the same teacher would be active with advanced classes and <u>not</u>

active with the lower classes. These low-achieving students need instruction from teachers to stay on task. Programmed workbooks will not help them learn the mathematical relationships necessary to cope in life. A teacher can see in students' faces whether or not they understand. A teacher can select another example from the students' background and explain it on the chalkboard. The most important finding in this research is that teachers need to actively teach. The advanced classes received active instruction and the less able students in general science classes received workbook assignments. This is not effective instruction for low achieving students. Relationships similar to those described in mathematics classes were found in general science and physics classes.

Focus of Instruction

If teachers are interactive in their instructional style, to whom should they focus their instruction: individuals, small groups, or the total group? During the last decade considerable energy has been directed toward the development of individualized programs. Federal, state and local funds have been spent to develop programmed reading, mathematics and science books. All of these programmed materials were aimed at providing children with activities in which they could progress at their own rates. It was assumed that if students were working at their own pace through a series of sequential exercises, learning would occur--it did for some students and not for others. In general, there has been a great disillusionment with individualized instruction. Some students learn best when new information is presented to a small group of students who are operating at a similar pace (Stallings, 1975; Stallings, Needels and Stayrook, 1979). Learning occurs when students

read aloud, and hear others ask questions and respond. Hearing and speaking as well as reading and writing helps students integrate and retain information. Individualized programs based almost totally on workbooks do not allow for this type of group learning.

At a conference sponsored by the National Institute of Education regarding instructional dimensions, sixty teachers discussed their experience with and attitudes towards individualized instruction. Teachers reported that in most individualized programs they felt relegated to being record keepers. Where workbooks were relied upon to provide instruction for students, teachers felt unable to integrate the students' learning (Amarel and Stallings, 1978). It appears that students need interactions with teachers. A teacher can develop concepts with a group and can change examples or illustrations to coincide with the group's background experince. If students do not understand, the teacher can find yet another example. Books or machines do not do that. Books or machines provide opportunities to practice and reinforce what teachers are teaching, but research suggests they are not sufficient to provide the instruction that students need (Stallings, 1975). Principals can support well-focused instruction, interactive teaching and effective use of time by making teachers aware of these findings and providing appropriate inservice training.

School Policies Related to Effective Instruction in Basic Skills

Student outcomes have been found to be related to effective classroom practices which are sometimes dependent upon school practices and policies. Rutter (1980), found that secondary student achievement, attendance, and delinquency were related to several school variables:

- Consistent expectations of students throughout the school, e.g., be on time.
- Emphasize pupil's success and good potential, e.g., monthly awards for achievement, attendance, sports, drama, music.
- Communication and feedback to teachers and students is clear, direct, and timely.
- Teachers willing to see students for personal assistance.
- Curriculums planned jointly by staff acting together.
- School kept in good repair (encouraged students to respect surroundings and behave more appropriately).

While working with teachers to change specific behaviors, Stallings, Needels and Stayrook (1979) found several school policy variables that were related to student achievement gain. The include policies toward absences, cuts and tardiness, intrusions, assignment of teachers to classrooms, assignment of students to classrooms, grading systems, availability of student information, reading in the content area, and parent support. All of these variables can be manipulated to some degree by school principals.

Absence Rate and Tardiness

A sample of San Francisco Bay Area secondary principals report that student absences contribute significantly to the problem of student low achievement (Stallings and Mohlman, 1981). In this sample, the absence rate (which included cuts) ranged from 5% to 25%. This rate is higher for low achieving students. Clearly, teachers cannot reach students who do not appear in class. However, the way teachers teach in class does have a relationship to student absences. In our study of teaching strategies in remedial reading classrooms in secondary schools, we found that students were absent less often

in classrooms where the following variables existed to a greater degree:

- Students perceived the classroom to be a friendly place.
- Students perceived some competition and high expectations.
- Teachers provided ample verbal instruction.
- Teachers provided instruction to the total class.
- Students sometimes were in leadership and provided information to the class--oral reports, etc.
- Students had opportunities to read aloud.

Students were absent significantly more often in classrooms where the following variables existed to a greater degree:

- Students were doing written assignments in workbooks the majority of class time.
- Students were reading silently the majority of class time.
- Teachers were doing management tasks--grading papers, making lesson plans, keeping records--and were not involved with students the majority of class time.
- Students were being disciplined for disruptive behavior.

Absence rate and tardiness needs to be brought under control at the school level as well as at the classroom level. Some of the techniques schools have successfully used are the following:

- In many families both parents work. Call at night (7:00 - 9:00 P.M.) to report absent or tardy students. This requires volunteers or payment for someone to call consistently. One school that had a 25% absentee rate dropped this to 12% within a one-month period.
- The clergy in one school district volunteered two hours each morning. They greeted tardy students and called the parents at home or at work to report tardy or absent students. This school reduced a rate of 40% absent to 15% absent within the school year.
- Students who cut class or were tardy accumulated time that had to be made up by assisting the school custodian clean the grounds and lavatories at lunch time, after school, or on Saturday mornings. This school's absence rate dropped from 15% to 9%.

To reduce absenteeism and tardiness it is necessary to have a stated school policy with all of the penalities for non-compliance made very clear to students, parents and staff. Consistency in follow-up of non-compliance is the key to reducing illegal cuts and tardiness. If some members follow the school policy and others do not, students will spend a lot of effort trying to find where the rules can be bent. Sometimes principals have to reprimand a teacher or staff member for being too lax with tardy students and not supporting the school policy. Clarity and consistency seems to be the key to solving this problem.

Intrusions

Research by Stallings, Needels and Stayrook (1979) indicates that classrooms having more intrusions from the outside--e.g., announcements on the intercom, requests for students to leave the room, tardy students coming into the room--have students who make less gain in basic reading skills. Other school personnel (counselors, school paper editors, drama coaches, physical education coaches, music directors, detention officers) may not appreciate how difficult it is to get a classroom of low ability students on-task and productive, and how easy it is for them to get off-task. When interruptions are allowed during class time it implies to the student that what is occurring in the classroom lacks value.

School administrators can establish clear guidelines about the sacrosanct nature of classroom teaching, i.e., if we are serious about teaching basic skills, no one disturbs a teacher when class is in session. Nothing less than a cataclysmic event should stop the teacher in progress. Some administrators allow 10 minutes for announcements at the beginning of the day rather than make announcements at random. One classroom in our study had 20

intrusions during a 45-minute period. Clearly it is difficult to accomplish academic tasks in such an environment.

Assignment of Classrooms to Teachers

This research indicates that remedial reading students make more gain where teachers have permanent classrooms. Teachers of basic skills need to be able to arrange a reading environment where student growth charts can be kept on the wall so that students can keep track of their progress. Teachers need to have diagnostic and prescriptive materials at their fingertips--and many high interest books at the right reading level. Teachers who have to shift from one classroom to another cannot achieve an environment conducive to developing basic skills.

The rooms need to be large so that students can be arranged in groups whenever small group instruction is needed. The research indicates that working in small groups is beneficial to those students in secondary classrooms who are reading at below the fourth-grade level.

Assignment of Students to Classrooms

Students who require remediation make more progress in classrooms where the students are more homogeneously grouped. In the study previously cited, students achieving below grade four who made gains were in classes averaging 18 students (See Appendix A). The classes with students achieving between the fourth-and sixth-grade averaged 21 students and classes with students achieving above the sixth-grade averaged 26 students. These data suggest that students who are achieving at a lower level should be placed in smaller classes than students who achieve at a higher level.

Classrooms of 40 students with one or more aides assisting the teachers are still not good situations for the remedial student. These students tend

to be distractible and the more bodies there are, the more distractions there are to filter out.

These data do not advocate tracking but they do suggest that smaller classes and some homogeneous grouping are more effective for basic skills classes.

Grading Systems

A variable grading system needs to be established for the remedial classes. Students who have a history of failure thrive best when they can experience daily success, for example, in programs that are set up to allow these students to make daily gains and achieve 80% to 100% correct scores on their exercises. These students will be overwhelmed with a sense of failure if they still receive a D or F on their report cards because they are still below grade level. Some teachers tried to console their students by saying that a 90% F is not as bad as a 30% F. However, any F means failure to students and parents and may discourage students from trying further. In view of this, several possible alternative procedures are proposed.

- Identify the course by name as a basic skills course for improvement in reading and give A, B, C, D, or F on the basis of the student's progress in the course. For example, a 10th-grade student who tested at the 2nd-grade level of reading when the course began and progressed to the 5th-grade level made excellent progress. This student received an A for improvement even though he or she is still below grade level.

- Variable credit could be earned on the basis of productivity. In a five-credit course, students who complete one-half of the work in a semester might receive two and one-half credits of C work rather than failing to receive any credit and receiving an F. Some students learn more slowly than others but they can, and do, learn if given adequate time. "Faster is not necessarily better," says Benjamin Bloom (1976).

- In systems where the previous two suggestions are not used, E, S, or N might be used to show when excellent, satisfactory, or no progress has been made.

Changing from one grading system to another is a difficult task that requires parent support as well as school staff support. A year of school planning and consulting with school systems using these systems should be allowed.

Student Information

Although teachers need information about students' reading problems and their reading level at the time classes are assigned, most teachers surveyed do not have student information easily available. Teachers feel that their ability to select materials based upon student needs would be increased if at least the reading levels of students were printed on the class lists.

To get the reading scores, teachers must go through the counselors' files and record the data available for each of the 100-150 students in their classes. This requires 5-10 minutes per student. After searching for the records, they may find that test information is not available for many students. The testing program is particularly lax in many secondary schools. Often the test data are several years old and transfer students may not have any records available until the middle or the end of the semester.

In the past we have been reluctant to make test scores easily available to teachers, believing this information might prejudice teachers' attitudes toward students. However true this might be for other subject areas, it should not apply to the teaching of basic reading skills. Here the teachers need all the information they can get. While reading grade level is not sufficient information, it will help in understanding the range of student abilities. More student information is needed since secondary students who have a history of failure in reading are likely to have some perceptual, physical or emotional problems in addition to problems of encoding, decoding, and comprehension. There are some group tests developed by the Cincinnati

School District that contribute this type of student information (See Reference Notes).

A strong case can be made for providing secondary teachers of reading with inservice workshops on how to diagnose reading problems and prescribe corrective treatment. Workshops on how to use these kinds of materials should be conducted in the summer so that teachers can diagnose the problems of their students during the first week of school. In some school districts this is accomplished by having students start school several days after the teachers start in the fall. The students who need remediation would be scheduled for diagnostic testing during the first few days and the teachers could select an appropriate program before school starts.

Reading in the Content Area

Teachers who must try to teach reading in the content area need textbooks that provide similar information at different reading levels. Most often such materials are not available. In that case the teacher has several options:

- Teachers may attempt to write their own materials for the students with low reading ability. Several teachers could share this responsibility.
- Teachers may try to locate or develop audio tapes of the textbook (the state produced some of these for use with the blind).
- Teachers may make extra effort to develop frameworks so that students can comprehend the key concepts.

In any case, the administrative staff needs to convene cross-department meetings to discuss and make clear a policy regarding reading in the content area. If the problem is not dealt with, many students who are bright but have low reading ability may be penalized unfairly and not receive the information in social studies, science and math that is necessary to cope in our society.

Parent Support

Administrators can create an atmosphere where parents feel needed to help in their child's education--not only to work on school committees, but to really assist their child to learn required skills. Some skills simply need more drill or practice, and some ideas may need discussion.

Research on the effect of parents' school involvement reports a positive relationship with the children's progress under the following conditions:

- The parents are given specific tasks to do with the children. For example, they receive materials and directions for helping children at home (Corne, 1978).
- In programs where the parents receive training from school personnel to help their children, as well as receiving materials, the children make progress (Gordon, 1969).

Administrators can make a policy that guides teachers to elicit positive, active parental support for their child's education. If teachers can use the parents as a source of energy to help children learn, it could lighten the teacher's load. It is important that parents and teachers feel that they are striving together toward a common goal: to help the student learn necessary skills. Given the large number of two-parent working families some schools have arranged for evening meetings with parents. In this instance, counselors or teachers might be given school day release time.

Staff Development

The secondary principal is required to function as a school manager and as a staff developer. The problem of helping teachers learn the skills required to teach the students in our schools today is the challenge of the 1980's.

The problem in staff development in the past has not been in having too few dollars. The problem has been in delivering a well focused, comprehensive program that will serve the needs of children and teachers. In a study of 20 Teacher Corps sites it appeared that there was little overlap among the categorical programs. Seldom did the personnel from Teacher Centers, Teacher Corps or other categorical aid programs coordinate project planning for teachers and students. Teachers in the schools reported that the activities of several federal programs in a school seemed to fractionate the education of children. Where there are several staff development programs in a school they often compete for teachers' limited time. If each categorical program has a director with his own budget, the directors are likely to think in terms of the program rather than in terms of children and teachers. Isolated pull-out programs seem to work to the disadvantage of children. In schools where the administrator appoints one person to coordinate the several programs, plans can be made as a group for the good of the children needing the services. In the face of dwindling dollars, more than ever schools need a well-focused comprehensive staff development program.

Choosing A Staff Development Program

Often, principals in a district are given a budget for staff development. This allows a given number of days for teacher release time and dollars to attend conferences or hire consultants to come to the school. During the past four years of studying schools we find that principals use these funds in very different ways. Some principals tell their staffs that each person can attend, for example, two conferences. They then provide a list of conferences that are acceptable. It is important that principals provide for continuity or

follow-up to see how the teachers have benefitted from the conference. If they do not, teachers will not have the opportunity to share what they learn with their colleagues.

Some of the principals used their funds to establish a school-wide program. For example, all teachers would attend the Assertive Discipline Program offered by Lee Cantor, or Fred Jones would train a group of teachers to use his classroom management techniques in his program entitled Classroom Management Training Program. These teachers would then teach the entire staff. Other principals have been successful in establishing Madeline Hunter's program for classroom management. One entire high school district near our home base has been trained to use the techniques offered by Sam Kerman to provide Equal Opportunity in the Classroom (See reference notes).

Staff development makes the most difference in teacher behavior change and student achievement when the program is schoolwide. One school in which we work has every teacher teach at least five key words a week. These words must be central to the course of study. The meaning and the spelling are taught. Misspellings are handled the same way in every class. Over a two-year period, this school significantly increased their spelling and vocabulary scores on a standardized test (Stallings and Mohlman, 1981).

A Model for Staff Development

Every staff development model includes a curriculum and a delivery system. Curriculum means the content and delivery means where, when, how, and number of participants. A good content with poor delivery, or vice versa, is not likely to be effective in bringing about change in teacher behavior.

The goal of the Teaching and Learning Institute's Staff Development Program is to help teachers learn to manage their classroom time effectively. The curriculum is based upon research findings. The delivery system is personalized instruction and interactive small group problem solving. The

content of the program is derived from research funded by the National Institute of Education. The delivery system was also developed with funds from that agency.*

Essentially our model could be called a Mastery Learning Staff Development Model. It has components similar to Bloom's Mastery Learning Model (Bloom 1976).

Pretest
- Observe teachers
- Assess what is needed from teacher observation profiles
- Start where they are

Inform
- Link theory, practice and teacher experience
- Provide practical examples from classroom situations

Organize and guide practice
- Provide conceptual units of behaviors to change
- Support and encourage behavior change
- Assess and provide feedback
- Help integrate into scheme

Posttest
- Observe teachers
- Provide feedback to teachers
- Provide feedback to trainers

The key features are to: state the objective of the staff development program; select or develop instruments that will measure the behavior of interest; observe and or test teachers to see how they are implementing the instructional strategies before the intervention; provide the intervention; observe the teachers; and measure the behavior change.

Using that model in a quasi-experiment (Stallings, Needels and Stayrook, 1979), treatment teachers implemented 25 out of 31 variables by the end of

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*The early research was carried out at SRI International in Menlow Park, California.

the school year and their students gained more in reading than did a control group of students. (See Appendix C for a description of the workshops.)

Preparing Teachers to Use Effective Techniques

To provide an effective staff development program for the quasi-experiment we established that the following conditions should be met:

- Adequate time is provided to introduce the program to administrators and then to teachers, and to make clear the links between theories of learning and the research findings.
- Recommendations for behavior change are based upon research findings from classrooms of students similar to the students in the school.
- Recommendations for personal change are based upon an objective, understandable profile of each teachers' observed behaviors.
- Teachers' observation profiles are confidential and provide a basis for staff development rather than evaluation.
- A series of workshops will assist teachers in learning how to implement the recommendations.
- Teachers can select one or two of the changes recommended on their profile of behavior to try in their classrooms the next day.
- Each week time is provided to discuss what teachers found they could change and what was difficult to change.
- Group size is kept small enough so that each teacher's problems of implementing the recommendations can be adequately discussed and practical suggestions can be received each week.
- The training leader encourages teachers to share their techniques for effectively managing time and student behavior, and for working toward more effective administrative policies in regard to the use of time.
- The training leader is supportive of the teacher's effort to change; and (while recognizing problems with students, parents, and administrators) establishes a forum where solutions to the problems will be generated rather than just airing the problems.

- The training leader requests teachers to do some homework activity to increase awareness of the class structure, e.g., keeping a seating chart of to whom the teacher speaks during the class period or of which students are off-task during the beginning, middle, and end of period. Teachers can then evaluate whether class activities are appropriate, or student seating is appropriate.

- The training leader acts as a role model for teachers i.e., starts on time, is clear in expectations, stays on-task, distributes interactions to all participants, is supportive and guiding, respects confidentiality, respects individual teacher differences (experience, training, school environment, personal attributes).

- Teachers are informed that their behavior change will be measured at the end of each semester and that only they will receive the information.

- Time, place, and length of meetings are convenient for teachers.

- Some type of incentive is provided: release time, stipend, credit.

Organizing Staff Development Activities

In organizing staff development activities it is important to start where teachers are in their development. Then link the new information to teachers' prior experiences, and provide assistance to integrate the change.

Start Where Teachers Are and Recommend Specific Change (Pretest)

Any staff development program should have an accountability plan. It is important to know whether teachers are implementing the program. Teachers will differ in where they start. We found that all teachers were using some of the desired behavior to an acceptable degree at the pretest. All teachers needed to increase or decrease some behaviors. Our objective was to help as many teachers as possible to implement as many of the program variables as possible. To know whether we met our objective, teacher behavior had to be observed on a quantitative observation instrument. In a recent study of administrative leadership style, in addition to behavior change, teachers' feelings of efficacy were expected to change as a result of the training.

Efficacy cannot be observed, therefore we used a survey instrument. The point is, the objective of the program needs to be assessed. If stress reduction is the objective--is stress reduced? by how much? for how long?

Inform: Link Theory, Practice and Experience

Teachers need to know the what and the why. Thus, the training activities themselves should start with linking the research finding to learning theory.

For example, we have a finding that indicates oral reading is related to secondary students' reading gains. Why might that be so? It is that secondary students achieving at the 1st-4th-grade reading level were the most positively affected by oral reading. Learning theory tells us that at that level it is important for students to hear the words and say the words, as well as write them and read them silently. Using all modalities helps integrate the learning. Silent reading or filling in blanks in workbooks may be non-learning activities. Our research suggests that in secondary remedial reading, classrooms teachers should listen to the student read some of the time. This helps teachers diagnose reading problems as well as providing opportunities for students to have oral input and output.

Organize Conceptually Complete Modules

Activities should be grouped so that they conceptually hang together and build one upon the other. For example, planning the activities that will occur during a class period requires teachers to efficiently take the role, make assignments, pass papers, and change from one activity to another. It is important to discuss how to effectively conduct the single components, but they are handled as a complete unit.

An interactive instruction module would need to include instruction on how to provide students with new information, link it to student background and experience, check for understanding, reinforce right answers, positively

correct, and guide wrong answers to become right. This interactive instruction module also includes making certain that all students receive some questions and positive support. Questions should be delivered at a level that will challenge but not overwhelm. Each module should go from the simpler activities to more complex ones all combining the what with the why and the how.

Follow up Training with Assessment of Change (Posttest)

After the intervention has been provided and the teachers have had the opportunity to try the instructional methods in their classrooms, teachers should be observed again. This second observation serves as a posttest and provides teachers with feedback on the degree to which they are implementing the program. The posttest also provides the trainer with feedback regarding the effectiveness of the training program.

Our experience in training over 150 teachers of all ages and experience range is that they can and do change behavior when given specific feedback on their own behavior and a guided practice period.

Summary

Some of the most important points to emerge from the research on effective schooling for students who must gain basic skills are:

- Teachers need to be interactive and directly involved with students to keep them on-task.
- Teachers should distribute questions to all members of the class and be supportive and guiding in their feedback.
- Teachers should offer several activities during a class period so that students can develop listening, speaking, reading and writing skills. This helps students integrate information.

- Teachers need a well focused, comprehensive, continuous staff development program to gain the skills needed to be effective teachers.
- Schools should keep distractions that intrude upon classroom time to a minimum.
- Schools should have a consistent and enforced policy for absences, tardiness, and misbehavior.
- Schools should gain parent participation and support.
- Effective schools are a friendly place to be--teachers are available to students, schools are kept in good repair, student success is recognized throughout the school (Rutter, 1979).

Teachers need help to effectively teach the students in their classrooms. The onus is upon school administrative staffs to select a training curriculum that is focused upon school improvement. Further, the program should be comprehensive and ongoing with opportunities for teachers to receive feedback on their progress. It is important that every program should be evaluated for effectiveness by observing teacher behavior before and after the intervention and then measuring teacher change. The impact upon student achievement and absence rate should then be evaluated. The bulwark of public education is being challenged and it is imperative that the teachers in our schools are prepared to meet that challenge.

REFERENCE NOTES

1. Assertive Discipline is done by Dr. Lee Cantor, Fremont, California.

2. Classroom Management Training Program is conducted by Dr. Frederick Jones, Santa Cruz, California.

3. Increasing Teaching Effectiveness is a four part workshop series conducted by Dr. Madeline Hunter, Los Angeles, California.

4. Equal Opportunity in the Classroom is done by Dr. Sam Kerman, the Los Angeles County Department of Education. The program now goes by a new name. It is now called TESA, Teacher Expectations and Student Achievement.

5. The Teaching and Learning Institute directed by Dr. Jane Stallings is located in Mountain View, California.

6. Diagnostic Perspective Ready System, Planning and Development Branch, Department of Research and Development, Cincinnati Public Schools, 1978.

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APPENDIX A

Distribution of Time Across Activities in
Four Ability Groups in Secondary Reading Classrooms

	Group I ($\bar{X}$ Percent)	Group II ($\bar{X}$ Percent)	Group III ($\bar{X}$ Percent)	Group IV ($\bar{X}$ Percent)
Interactive On-Task Activities:				
Reading aloud	21%	9%	1%	1%
Instruction	16	11	17	10
Discussion	12	5	3	1
Drill and Practice	4	4	4	2
Praise/support**	19	16	7	11
Corrective feedback**	20	16	4	12
Non-Interactive On-Task Activities:				
Classroom management	12	15	17	27
Reading silently	9	16	13	21
Written assignments	4	22	23	28
Off-Task Activities:				
Social interactions	5	6	3	8
Students uninvolved	6	4	4	9

Notes: Group I--Low pretest (students at 2.5 - 3.7 grade level) gain: 4.8 - 5.4.

Group II--Mod pretest (students at 4.2 - 5.8 grade level) gain: 5.5 - 7.4.

Group III--High pretest (students at 6.4 - 8.5 grade level) gain 7.8 - 8.5.

Group IV--No gain (students at 3.8 - 9.3 grade level) gain 3.8 - 9.5.

$\bar{X}$ = Group mean.

*These activities may occur simultaneously; therefore, the sum is greater than 100%.

**This variable is reported as frequency of observed occurrence per 45 minute period.

APPENDIX B

Percentage of Student Time Spent in Activities for Three Types of Mathematics Classes*

Variables	Type I	Type II	Type III
Instruction	14. %	25. %	30. %
Review	8. %	21. %	23. %
Written Assignments	34. %	15. %	11. %
Teacher Management/No Students	24. %	20. %	15. %
Social Interactions	11. %	13. %	13. %
Students Uninvolved	11. %	6. %	4. %
Discipline	4. %	.20 %	.05 %

Type I = General math or Pre-Algebra

Type II = Algebra I, Geometry

Type III = Algebra II, Trigonometry, Calculus

* Some categories are overlapping and the columns will not sum to 100%

Appendix C

Description of the Workshops

Workshop 1 provides each teacher with a profile of his or her observed behavior (see Figure C-1). The observation variables are listed in the left column. These are variables used in the study of Teaching Basic Reading Skills in Secondary Schools (Stallings, Needels and Stayrook, 1979). They have considerable face validity which makes the findings understandable to teachers. The fact that the findings were generated from classes similar to the ones in which the teachers were working lends credibility to the research. The variables used in the study are very specific and translating them into recommendations for teachers is not a difficult task. Each teacher receives his/her own set of recommendations for behavior change based upon three days of observation in a class of his/her choice. For example, we observed Sam Jones' period No. 3 prior to a series of inservice workshops. He received the behavior profile shown in Figure 1. The X indicates Sam's pre-training observation. The line down the middle is the mean for approximately 100 classes. Sam Jones was spending 46% of the class time in management tasks (see pretest score for the first variable). This indicates that Sam was spending approximately one half of the class time not being involved with students, e.g., grading papers or keeping records. The mean for all teachers on this variable was 28%. After interpreting the study findings to Sam we made the recommendations shown in the left column. Our recommendations was to provide more instruction, more interaction, more feedback and do less paper grading and record keeping during class time.

More and less are defined in terms of percent of time spent in specific activities or in terms of frequencies of interactions. These recommendations are guided by the level of student achievement. To succeed, lower achieving students require more auditory input and more oral expression that do higher achieving students. The data on Table C-1 are based on analysis of variance comparing effective teaching processes for three levels of achievement of secondary students and the ineffective teaching processes in classrooms where students made little or no gain. Teachers with students achieving below the fourth grade level will be encouraged to provide oral reading approximately 20% of the time, oral instruction approximately 16% of the time, etc. Teachers with students achieving above the sixth grade lvel would not be encouraged to do as much oral reading but the amount of instruction is about the same.

The remaining workshops in the series provide the assistance teachers need to carry out the recommendations.

In Workshop 2 the achievement level of the students in the class chosen for study are used to determine more exactly how students should be grouped, how time should be spent and how reading should be approached. Methods to develop vocabulary and word concepts are described for each achievement group. Science, math and social studies teachers are given practical suggestions of how to help low achieving students develop a vocabulary to understand the key concepts of the course content. Recommendations for assessing student reading ability are provided. Some schools have very little easily-accessed information for secondary students.

Figure C-1

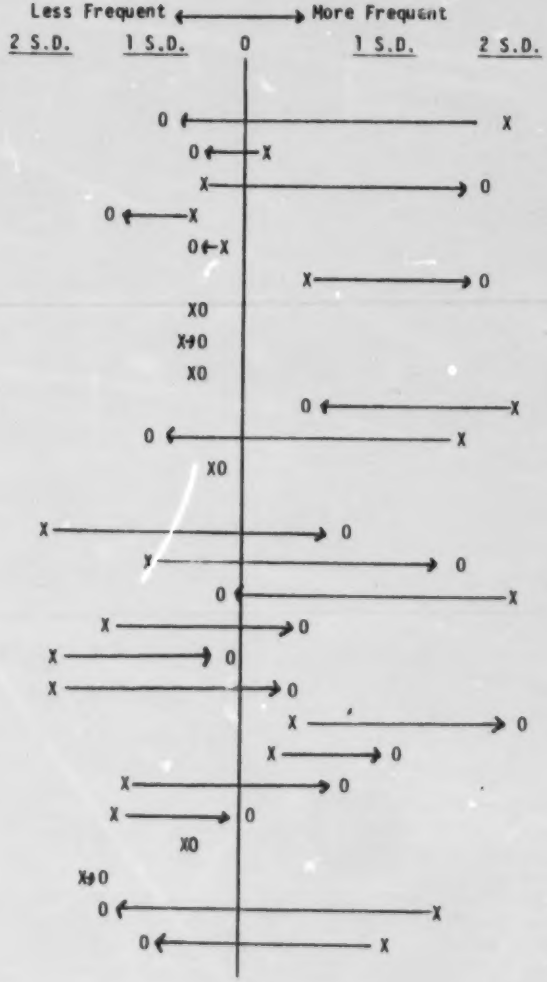
Teacher Name: Sam Jones

Lakewood High School

Washington Unified School District

Standard Deviations from the Mean

Mean for All Classes



	Recommendations	All Classes	Sam's Class Pre	Sam's Class Post	Implementation
Snapshot Variables					
Teacher class manage/no students	Less	28.	46.	0.	✓
Total silent reading	Less	08.	09.	05.	✓
Total reading aloud	More	09.	06.	29.	✓
Total making assignments	OK	06.	04.	00.	✓
Total instruction	More	10.	18.	13.	
Total discussion	More	02.	04.	18.	✓
Total practice drill	More	01.	00.	00.	
Total written assignments	OK	27.	17.	21.	✓
Total test taking	More	02.	00.	00.	
Total social interaction	Less	04.	15.	07.	✓
Total student uninvolved	Less	05.	15.	01.	✓
Total discipline	OK	00.3	00.	00.	✓
Interaction Variables					
Teacher to individual student	More	89.	48.	113.	
Teacher to groups	More	13.	01.	38.	✓
Teacher to class	OK	44.	137.	37.	
Teacher direct question, reading	More	41.	23.	50.	✓
Student response, reading	More	42.	19.	43.	✓
Teacher praise, support reading	More	13.	08.	34.	✓
Teacher corrective feedback	More	13.	19.	53.	✓
All interactions/reading	More	208.	230.	304.	✓
All interactions/behavior	OK	06.	01.	11.	✓
All interactions/positive	More	04.	00.	04.	
All interactions/negative	OK	00.	00.	00.	✓
Student comments, assignment	OK	09.	01.	03.	✓
All interactions/class assignment	Less	69.	144.	17.	✓
Teacher manage class, no student	Less	33.	73.	05.	✓

X = Pre-Training Observation
O = Post-Training Observation
→ = Direction of change
✓ = Correctly Implemented

PROFILE OF SAM JONES' PRE- AND POST-TRAINING OBSERVATIONS

Table C-1

DISTRIBUTION OF TIME ACROSS ACTIVITIES IN FOUR ABILITY GROUPS IN SECONDARY READING CLASSROOMS*

	Group I ($\bar{X}$ Percent)	Group II ($\bar{X}$ Percent)	Group III ($\bar{X}$ Percent)	Group IV ($\bar{X}$ Percent)
Interactive On-Task Activities				
Reading aloud	21%	9%	1%	1%
Instruction	16	11	17	10
Discussion	12	5	3	1
Drill and practice	4	4	4	2
Praise/support**	19	16	7	11
Corrective feedback**	20	16	4	12
Non-Interactive On-Task Activities				
Classroom management	12	15	17	27
Reading silently	9	16	12	21
Written assignments	4	22	23	28
Off-Task Activities				
Social interactions	5	6	3	8
Students uninvolved	6	4	4	9

Notes: Group I--Low pretest/high gain
Group II--Moderate pretest/moderate gain
Group III--High pretest/moderate gain
Group IV--No gain
$\bar{X}$ = Group mean

*These activities may occur simultaneously; therefore, the sum is greater than 100%

**This variable is reported as frequency of occurrence per 45-minute period.

Workshop 3 focuses upon making good use of the total class period. Efficient means of making assignments and making clear expectations for quality and quantity of work are discussed. If classrooms have students of different achievement levels, teachers are guided to teach two or three groups to accommodate these differences. Lesson plans for several groups or models of group instruction are provided and teachers are guided to plan two or three activities for each group rather than just reading silently or doing workbooks all period.

Workshop 4. Because so many behavior variables were found to be negatively correlated with reading achievement, this workshop provides specific recommendations for behavior management. Each teacher receives a packet to read before the session. During the session, the leader asks the teachers what was the most difficult behavior problem they had to handle the past week. In each of the prior sessions, the teachers have eventually mentioned the same problems: tardiness, absenteeism, arguments, shouting our demeaning remarks, and physical fights. The leaders ask how each teacher handled such situations. Some of these incidents are role played. Ways of handling such situations are suggested by the teachers and the trainers. Teachers then formulate recommendations based on the research findings and group suggestions. Techniques for motivating students toward good behavior and achievement are also discussed in the fourth session.

Workshop 5 provides instruction and practice in a direct method of providing instruction, questioning and feedback. Teachers are encouraged to provide some verbal instruction and ask students (by name - not by volunteers) to respond. If the response is correct the teachers provide some praise or acknowledgement feedback to the student that the answer is correct. This needs to be specific and clear. If the response is incorrect the teachers are trained to provide some form of positive corrective feedback. Such feedback might be to probe by asking the question differently or to provide some more information and re-ask the question.

Workshops 6 and 7 are conducted after observations at the end of each semester to see whether recommendations from the earlier workshops were followed. New profiles are prepared for each teacher in the form of transparencies so that the second and third profiles can be laid over the first profile to examine changes in teacher behavior. Feedback based on these profiles of teacher behavior is given to each teacher individually. Recommendations for continued behavior change are made.

Staff Development Model

This staff development model requires that the number of teachers being trained is kept small (five to seven). The training sessions are 2.5 hours long. They are conducted once a week for five weeks in November or February, either after school hours or during school time. The school system either provides monetary incentives, release time or inservice credit. The content of the workshops is guided by the findings from research on effective teaching. Research findings are presented and theories of child development are discussed. The theory and research are then grounded in practical classroom examples, teachers' experiences and problem solving skills. The training process is interactive and supportive. Teachers are helped to find methods to work with the students in their care and to find ways to work effectively in their school situation. The focus of the five workshops is to help teachers think in terms of using time effectively, provide supportive and interactive instruction, and motivate each student to stay on task.

Session I Discussion:

Reactions to Stallings Presentation

William Cooley:

I'm going to talk about conference concerns and speak about my own work and experience as it bears on this conference and the theme "Creating Conditions for Effective Teaching." I am going to do that in reverse order. Its always more fun to talk about yourself so I am going to start there but actually I have to do it in order to establish my credibility as a discussant for Jane's fine paper. In her note to me she said, "well, this paper clearly isn't your cup of tea--you won't be able to count the tea leaves in the bottom of the cup." She obviously dismissed me as an quantitative type. She doesn't know that I am a reformed quantitative type. I even have a phone number now that I can dial when I get this sudden urge to do a multivariate analysis. I think its Bob Stake's number.

A little personal history maybe would help. One of the things that I have had the pleasure of doing over my 25 years in educational research was directing the Learning Research and Development Center with Bob Glaser. And in those 8 years, we had solutions in mind and we did a lot of research and development toward those solutions and Individually Prescribed Instruction (IPI) was an example of that. We knew what the problems were, we were going to build solutions, and all we needed to do was to get them into the schools; and then the schools served as our place of operation for doing our research, and that's what we did. We did our thing - and used the schools for that end. And I'm a slow learner: it took me eight years to figure out that that really wasn't getting us anywhere. So I formed a little group within the center to try to do something else. It is known as the evaluation research unit within LRDC.

What we decided to do was to work on the problem of district-based evaluation or district-based, client-oriented, decision-oriented research. It used to be called action research, I guess. And we started with the Pittsburgh Public Schools, since that's where we are and I am a great believer in proximity. We started working on their problems. We first had to convince them that we were serious about that -- that we really did want to change the rules and have them drive our enterprise and not just rip them off in terms of students, teachers, time, etc. So we worked hard to establish an effective working relationship.

NIE was willing to support us in this because they expect us to be able to figure out ways in which district offices for evaluation, testing, and research might go about their business more effectively. We said we were going to work on the problem by actually doing it. So we offered our services to the district. It's kind of interesting. Pittsburgh Public Schools is where Mel Provost did his important work as a district-based evaluation researcher. When he left, the entire office just collapsed, and they had no activity there whatsoever. So we made our services available and started working on their problems. We had a few successes, and then last summer things became a little untidy. After we had built up a good relationship with the superintendent, he was fired. This district submitted its eighth desegregation plan to the State Civil Relations Commission. It was rejected. The teachers had announced that they were about ready to have a strike in the fall. And I said to my friends in our unit, "we had better look for another district." Fortunately, we hung in there. We decided that was life in the big city. This was not exactly something you aren't experiencing in any school district in the country. So we started to get ready for the new superintendent. Fortunately, the new superin-

tendent was Richard Wallace. Some of you may know Dick Wallace. He's had a long background in research. He had been director of research at the Texas R & D Center, director of a Regional Laboratory, and school superintendent in Massachusetts for seven years. So he came in as our new superintendent and we have been working for him night and day for the last nine months. It has been the most exciting experience I have had trying to make research relevant to education.

I want to tell you just a little bit about what we are doing there. The first thing we did was a district-wide needs assessment. We did surveys of all the big stakeholder groups, and we did a lot of analysis of the data. We became students of the Pittsburgh Public Schools and tried to understand their data on achievement, absenteeism, and suspensions. They were a district with 45,000 kids and they didn't realize they had 23,000 suspensions last year! And so we worked up all this data on the district and made a presentation to the board in February and suggested six priority goals for the district. They bought every one of them. And we were very pleased with that. Then we started working on the plans to reach those goals, and action plans for each priority area were submitted to the board last Wednesday.

The major change that is going on there right now is that the district has been trying to solve education problems through district-wide program change or program improvement. They weren't happy with the reading scores, so they changed the reading program around. Since so many students weren't learning from normal classroom instruction, they laid on several new remedial programs. They had of course the Title I programs. They created a new program called Project Pass for children who had failed. They had so many remedial programs

going on in that district that, in most grades, half the kids were in one or more remedial programs. These were in layers, you know. The federal categorical programs stimulated all of this. So what we are trying to do now is look within buildings. What we are finding is that within the buildings, these many, many programs are just clobbering each other. Now, none of this is very profound. What we are doing is just making available an analytic capability to this district to help them figure out what their problems are. The problem is that there was no building-level problem solving going on in that district. The principals weren't doing it, the teachers weren't doing it--nobody was doing it. The assistant superintendent for elementary schools had 70 principals reporting to her. She was the one person in the district who had any responsibility for these 70 schools. There was no building-level staff involvement in problem solving going on. Principals and teachers within the building didn't have their act together at all. If there is anything we have learned from the school effectiveness research, it is that you may find these miracles where principals and teachers are working together. They have a consensus of goals, of discipline goals--they've got it together. But the way that this district had been solving its problems was sort of "musical chairs" for principals. I suppose that is going on in districts all over the country too. Every summer the musical chairs--princials get bumped into some other building, and that's how they think they are going to solve the problems.

So what we have been doing is just becoming students of this district, looking at board policy, monitoring all the board meetings. Noticing the kinds of information that they wished they had but didn't have in order to make more intelligent policy decisions. We have been working most closely with the

central administration. The superintendent's particularly trying to understand his information needs. We are now working with school improvement by working with a subset of the district. We took seven of the elementary schools in this large district, and we are working with the building principals and classroom teachers. We are working on student achievement. And I'm impressed with the complex ways in which these board policies, what the central administrators do, what the building principals do, and what the classroom teachers do, are all related to student achievement.

I must admire CEPM's effort at trying to model this very complex set of interrelationships. That's clearly been missing in education thinking. And I think it is very important that they are mounting that effort. I think we need an awful lot of debate about these models and how these various levels interact with each other. I hope they are not going to mount a massive empirical effort now and turn it into a formal model problem and measure all these things and go crazy trying to relate it. I think that the next step is clearly to continue what they are already doing--that is, to look at the research of Stallings and others and try to piece all of it together. What's been found in this little network, what's been found in that little network. Try to get an integrated picture of these variables from these various levels within the district, there's no question that you have a very clear hierarchy there--try to understand how these various levels of hierarchy affect each other.

I'm very excited about the possibilities of building-level problem solving as a means for school improvement. Its been one of those profound things in education. If you want to have school improvement, why don't you work on improving schools? The problem is that the districts have attempted to solve

things district-wide, they won't focus. They'll spend money on staff development--they want to train the 3,000 teachers they've got, instead of the 30 that are in absolutely desparate crying need. Or they want to have a school improvement strategy for all of their 60 elementary schools, instead of the six or seven that are in crying need. Of course, you have got the problem of stigma associated with being involved in these things, but we have worked out ways of making the public aware of what is going on in a general way.

Well all this brings me to Jane's paper. A few years ago I would have picked away at her methodology. I would have proven that she couldn't possibly have found those relationships with so little classroom observation, because knowing that there are a 1,000 hours in a school year, you have to have at least 15 hours of observation--we have actually shown that--in order to get reasonably precise estimates of the kind of phenomena that she is talking about. There is no way she had all that. But now I say it was fine; it rings true. I am going to go back and give her paper to the gentleman in the district who is responsible for the high school Title I remedial reading program, because that is what her paper is for. I think that her paper is for the person in the school district who is responsible for the remedial education program in high schools. And every district has that now. We have looked at those programs, and I think what she is doing there in the paper is identifying the major ways in whch school policies, building-level policies, affect instruction. Seeing that connection is very important and principals often don't see the relationship between what they do and what happens in classroom. They think, "teaching is what teachers do." The whole instructional leadership area is now blossoming finally, and it's very exciting because I think that's right exactly

where the problem lies. Principals need to become aware of the role that they can play. As we work with them, we try to get them to see that they don't realize what they are doing. These principals that we have worked with in schools that have had essentially zero growth in a course of nine months--they are just running around and they don't know where they are putting their time. We helped them see that--its almost like the diagnostic thing that Jane does with teachers. Teachers don't realize where their time is going, and principals don't realize where their time is going. Hold up a mirror and help them see that and shape that.

At any rate I think that the work that the center here is doing is extremely exciting in terms of how they are starting to look at the relationship between policy and achievement. I think that Jane's paper is particularly helpful in terms of summarizing a whole lot of insights. I wouldn't call it quantitative results--that's not nearly as important as the insights that she is providing as a result of her having been in classrooms and showing us what she's seen.

Robert Slavin:

I was just going to respond to Jane's paper and comments, but I realized that people might want to know where I am coming from as well. So I thought I would start with that. I have been doing work for many years on something that is at the other end of the research spectrum from the kinds of things that go on at CEPM. My concern is how to make the classroom more effective both for student achievement and for a whole bunch of other variables. Most of my work involves studying instructional methods in which kids work in small learning teams, about four kids apiece. There is instruction by the teacher, and then the kids get a chance to try to master the material working with one another in

heterogeneous groups. Then there is some kind of a reward or recognition given to the groups based on how well the members of the groups learn the material. The basic, the original, idea of the program was to capture the peer norm force that ordinarily tends to work against the teachers' goals in the classroom and have it work for the teachers' goals. In other words, by having kids work with one another towards a common goal, we want to have kids saying to each other, "glad you came to class today", or "I want to learn this," or other things that are totally different from the kind of thing you ordinarily hear, especially in a junior or senior high school, where at best kids are unconcerned about how their classmates are doing academically. At worst, they are actively working against the teacher to say, "it's not important to do well--in fact, it's important to see if you can hit the teacher in the back of the neck with a spit ball and not important to try to learn your math or reading".

So we developed a number of these cooperative learning programs and tried them out in a long series of systematic experiments in schools. We compared the teams to control groups, and we did find out that when you have kids working in these cooperative groups, in general they learn better than when they work in traditional classrooms. We've done the research now with grades three through twelve in many subjects. We did a lot of looking in the data to find out why these effects occur and found out that the main thing was that the kids supported each other, that norms of the classroom began to support doing well academically. The kids motivated each other; they said, "come on, let's do it." That turned out to be tremendously important--just having kids saying to one another that they are supposed to prepare outside of class. Its also important that kids help each other--that they interact with each other--because kids can

often explain things in a way that teachers can't. And the act of explaining to someone else is a very useful thing for kids in terms of learning.

The cooperative learning strategies also have a way of making a lot of subjects exciting that often are quite boring for a lot of kids. These strategies make it very difficult for you to be off task--not off task as you observe off task, but off task as in <u>really</u> off task, which is the situation some of you may be in right now. You might be looking toward the front of the room, but thinking of something else. You would be scored as "on task" if we were doing a sweep here, but your brain is not actually engaged--it's off on something else. Well I don't know if any of you are like that, but a lot of kids are off task during a lesson. There are clearly situations in which students are not taking very much in--it's not sticking there if it's going in there at all. When you work on a task with somebody else or in a small group with a couple of other kids, it's impossible for that to happen. You may talk about other things once in a while that are off task, but it's almost impossible for you to not listen, not pay attention, when somebody is talking to you one on one. We are taking advantage of that.

The third thing we found in our component analysis of these cooperative learning strategies is something that will be dear to the hearts of Jane Stallings or Tom Good or any of the people that work on direct-instruction-related methods. Just the fact that we were using a systematic structure, regardless of whether we had teams in it, made a difference for achievement. Now, the teams made more of a difference. In other words, they add to the effect. But part of the thing is simply having a systematic way of approaching these instructional tasks: you teach this material, the kids get a chance to

try to master it, and there is a regular assessment. That by itself makes a big difference in terms of student achievement, because it applies a regular set of activities with a regular kind of feedback to the teacher about how the kids are doing and feedback to the kids about how they are doing. That already is a major improvement over what goes in the traditional classroom, where the teacher may be teaching but is not always aware of whether the students are learning. The teacher may go through a lot of activities, but if material is not presented in a regular pattern, where you are sure that you have covered things, covered them again, given students a chance to master them, and then assessed mastery, it is hard to be sure that the students have learned anything.

Moreover, it's not just academic achievement that we are able to influence. We were conscious from the very beginning that while academic achievement was going to be number one, there were things that you might be able to do with kids working together in cooperative groups. One of the most obvious things is that the kids learn to know each other and to like each other and get along well as a result of working in these groups. Now, that is of very great importance in situations where you have, for instance, black and white students or Chicano and Anglo students or some kind of barrier to positive interaction. You make up these teams to be heterogeneous, and you find very consistently that that improves relationships between those groups. The kids have many more friends outside of their own ethnic group as a result of working in the cooperative groups. We are now working in the area of mainstreaming, where there is a similar problem. The mainstreamed kids are not well accepted by their classmates and often are actually rejected by their classmates. What we are trying to do now is to create methods that will meet the needs of those kids but also have them

interact cooperatively with their classmates and, in that way, improve relationships. That is now underway, and our first results have been quite encouraging. Another thing we have seen is improvement in the student's self esteem. We know that self esteem for kids is largely a product of how they feel they are doing in school, how they feel they are doing with their peer group, and how they are doing witn their family. We know we are taking care of the peer group and we know that we are taking care of how well they are doing in school. Kids feel they are doing a lot better, which they are. So for these reasons we are beginning to see a lot of improvement in student self esteem as a result of these cooperative learning projects.

We have new projects where we are combining individualized instruction and mathematics. In mathematics a heterogeneous class must have an individualized program because each skill depends on an earlier one. A combination of individualized instruction and team learning is a way to meet a wide range of needs but still have kids help another and have kids entirely manage instructional activities in the individualized program. The teacher does not just become a program checker but is allowed to do direct instruction. During the time the teacher is doing the direct instruction, students are making progress on their own instead of just filling out worksheets.

I now want to talk about Jane Stallings' paper in the context of the things that I have just been talking about. What I was particularly excited about in her paper was something that she really didn't emphasize very much in her talk. What she is doing is starting to develop a technology of instruction, a set of research-based methods that we can give to teachers and say, "If you do this, you will get results on student achievement". We now have something that we think is

fairly effective. Now I am not entirely convinced that there has been enough demonstration that that is the case with this particular program. But I think that is where we are headed, and I think Jane's work is a major step in that direction. We are headed towards something which could be very exciting and has major implications for staff development as well as for the process of education itself. And that is a situation in which we have well-thought-out, well-developed, well-specified models in which we can train teachers. Once we train them in those models, we know that they will be effective teachers. We can then go and assess them, and, if they are doing what they are supposed to be doing, then we know that they are making a difference. Now that is no small change. I would think that there would be eventually several models, based on research, that have been evaluated and compared to control groups that are similar enough for comparison. With these models, we will not only have investigated the whole program but the components of the program separately. By pulling components out, we can see whether the program still works. Then we can say to teachers, "if you do this you will be effective."

We will have made the jump from the teacher as sort of a loose applier of an art to somebody more like a physician, who applies his or her skills creatively, flexibly, but who <u>has</u> a skill. The physician has something that he knows will produce a certain effect if he applies it in a certain way. Now he still uses judgment--we do not want to take that away from teachers--but I think we are getting closer to a situation where we can have that kind of skill to present to teachers and know that it is going to make a difference. Now I don't think we are there yet, and I think that I may be a little bit in disagreement with Jane on how close we are to that. It requires not just correlational research but a

lot of experimental research and component analyses over maybe the next ten years before we can really be sure that we can tell teachers whether they are doing their jobs correctly or not. And while I don't think we are there quite yet, we can be there with a great deal of continued research.

I was once a special education teacher in Beaverton, Oregon, and I always have this model of what the kind of thing that I am describing could be like. We were a school working with trainable mentally-retarded students--most of them very low--and we were using behavior modification. We were all taught behavior modification and we were satisfied about the degree to which we were using this model for trainable mentally-retarded students. That methodology is incredibly effective and I think if you are not doing something that is behavior modification then you are not teaching those very retarded students. We talked a common language. We modified what we were doing. We had heated discussion about methods that we might apply. We could learn directly from the research on behavior modification to the degree that it was translated to us as teachers. We were very effective, I think. While I don't think behavior modification is the answer for the regular classroom, I hope one day we will have such effective methods and teachers will be able to apply a systematic method to instruction. Teachers will have been trained in the "X" method of teaching and can talk about the X method, improve their methods, apply them creatively, see where they might be going wrong, and assess them or have someone in the building who can help them with that. The principal then has to become an instructional leader, because the school has a single way of approaching things instead of one for every teacher. Staff development will become something that people will seek and know how to use; we can really take it seriously instead simply providing

ideas or tricks to teachers. I will conclude just by saying that I think we are at the verge of something that is very exciting, very important, both for the administration of the schools and for actual instruction in classrooms.

Richard Hersh:

Happily the work that we have been doing this year seems to converge with what we have heard today. It's my task, I think, to try to bring this all together in terms of the work that our committee has been doing all year. Let me see if I can summarize some of the major things that we have relearned this year. First, there is a recognition of the fact that people run schools; we have renewed our belief that people, like administrators and teachers, are important. Second, it's the quality of the way in which we use resources, not the quantity. The early studies on school production functions measured inputs and outputs and correlated them. Well, that research has been useful, but it is clearly insufficient to tell us much about what we ought to do.

If we are going to improve schools and move toward more effective rather than less effective practice, then we have to worry about two kinds of things: school-level change and individual teacher change. Those things happen at the same time and affect each other. That's been said several times today, but what do we know specifically about that? Well, we reviewed all the literature we could find on inservice education because the educational professions committee was concerned essentially with how we improve the ability of administrators and teachers to improve instruction. We know that collective bargaining and district-wide factors and community factors are all critical to enhancing school effectiveness, but our committee chose to focus on schools and classrooms. One of the things that we have found in our review is the same thing that Jane was

saying earlier. I will quote here from Beverly Showers' and Bruce Joyce's review of 200 inservice research projects over the last 20 years, because I think it is the best summary of research literature in inservice I have seen. What they found was that if you teach teachers just theory (and Jane point out earlier that it is very important to teach theory, and that of course is joyful to teacher educators) that you might do pretty well in getting people to understand Kohlberg's theory of moral development, for example, but they won't be able to do it--they will not be able to demonstrate the skills. When you go in and measure new skills in actual classroom studies you find a five to ten percent transfer. So a theory-only presentation is not very powerful. If you add demonstration--a lot of video tape demonstrations, real life demonstration--you don't get much of a change. You get 10-15 percent transfer of skills. If you further add a lot of practice in peer-group teaching or micro-teaching in any sort of controlled setting where you can give people practice and feedback but it's still outside the classroom, you don't get much of an increase. But you get a giant jump when you combine these plus in class coaching, where someone is there providing additional feedback with real-time coaching over time--90% transfer. Now that may not be surprising, but how many school districts want to do this? Or are doing it? School districts constantly call us: "Come in for the first day of school, and we will give you an hour or so," and so forth. So if we are serious about changing people's behavior on any model of teaching and you really want transfer skills, the training itself has to be much more powerful. I find that exciting because it's something that verifies our own experience. But it's also depressing because we are so far from doing it. It's a major policy issue.

The research on school-level effectiveness is equally interesting. We reviewed all the studies we could find on school-level effectiveness. If I quote from three or four studies, you will start to see things converge. From the Rutter study, 15,000 Hours (which has some methodological problems, but when you get ten or fifteen studies done independently of each other in different kinds of settings and they all come up with the same findings, it weighs more heavily), we find effectiveness related to home work graded by the teachers, student work displayed in school, time on task--teachers start on time, end on time, keep you going on task--obvious teacher caring, use of school library, high teacher expectation, high common expectation for behavior and academic achievement. There is what Rutter called an ethos in the school: a commonly-agreed-to set of values and norms for behavior. Administrator leadership is important. Students understand the reason for rules--both school level rules and classroom rules--with regard to behavior and with regard to academic expectation and achievement. Ask kids and they will give you the same answer: "we are here for these reasons".

Ron Edmonds' research in urban schools emphasizes strong administrator leadership, high expectations, orderly and unoppressive atmosphere, common staff academic priorities, and frequent monitoring of pupil progress and feedback to students--which is one way of saying, "we care about whether you learn or not." All the above are under the control of the school.

A review of literature by NIE found strong administrator leadership, common agreement on priorities and focus on achievement, caring but orderly school climate, common discipline standards, public rewards for academic achievement, school wide emphasis on basic skills, high future expectations, and a system of

monitoring student progress all leading to high academic engaged time.

Tomlinson, in a recent article, reviewed the school effects literature: schoolwide agreement on goals, classroom activity geared to maximizing productive time, use of peer pressure and peer support for on task behavior, principals who are looked up to by staff and students and who lend their authority, both legal and personal, to teachers tasks, teacher aides to help keep kids on task, tight and narrow curriculum with emphasis on direct instruction, shared rules and sanctions. These are the kinds of attributes that Jane was talking about earlier.

Well, you can go on to the latest Coleman report, which is full of political problems, but some of the things are not surprising in his discussion of public versus private schools. He claims that in private schools there are things like more homework and more discipline and a more orderly atmosphere. This is a school-level issue. The question that we are interested in is how do you create those conditions at the school level that allow teachers to create the right conditions at the classroom level? It seems to me that when you are creating a research agenda as we have done this year, that you have to figure out how those things dovetail.

Session II

Instructional Leadership:

Implications of Collective Bargaining Research

Session II

Collective Bargaining at the School Site: A Varied Picture

Susan Moore Johnson

Since 1944 when the first teachers' contract was negotiated in Cicero, Illinois,[1] 31 states and the District of Columbia have granted teachers bragaining rights.[2] Contracts are being negotiated in states that have passed such legislation as well as others, such as Ohio and Illinois, that have not.[3] Currently, well over 65 percent of the nation's teachers belong to teacher associations and unions.[4] It has been recently argued that only desegregation and governmental aid to education have had a "comparable impact on the nature of schooling in America."[5] However, while public attention has been drawn to this expansion of teacher unionism, there has been little systematic analysis of the effects of collective bargaining on schools. How has it affected "the nature of schooling in America?" How has unionism changed the role of the principal, the services provided by teachers, the relationships among staff, and most importantly, the instruction of children?

This paper examines the impact of teacher unions on the day to day operations of schools by following collective bargaining into the offices, classrooms and corridors of schools in order to document and describe its effects.[6] I conclude that while the structure of negotiations, the format of the collective agreements, and the organization of the unions appear to be quite similar from school district to school district, their effects differ markedly both among districts and within districts.

The process of collective bargaining does not lead inexorably to uniform outcomes. Local school officials and building administrators can and do substantially shape the contents of the contract, the impact of collective bargaining on the schools, and the character of labor relations at the school site.

In selecting the sample of school districts for this research, I believed it was important to look at collective bargaining in a range of settings, to consider both districts with expanding resources and enrollments and those experiencing decline, and to view labor practices in the context of both cooperative and adversarial relationships. The sample of districts, therefore, is intentionally diverse. The six districts included in this study, which have here been assigned fictitious names, vary in size, controlling labor statutes, AFT/NEA affiliation, regional location, urban/rural/suburban character, racial and ethnic composition, enrollment and economic trends, experience with strikes, and strength and complexity of the contract. Table I summarizes these district features. I assumed that such a sample would make it possible to map the range and variation of labor practices and to illustrate the effects of different contracts and unions on the schools. In-depth interviews were conducted with 294 teachers and administrators in the districts. Details of the research methodology are included in the Appendix.

VARIATION AMONG DISTRICTS

The effects of collective bargaining on classroom instruction are more indirect than direct. While the teachers' contracts

TABLE I

	TYPE	ENROLLMENT	ECONOMY	STUDENT COMPO-SITION	AFFILI-ATION	NUMBER OF STRIKES
Plantville	Urban	9,769 Declining	Declining	White Multi-ethnic	AFT	None
Shady Heights	Suburban	18,000 Declining	Declining	White	AFT	Four
Vista	Suburban Consol-idated	17,500 Expanding	Expanding	White Small Mexican	NEA	None
Metropolis	Urban	240,000 Declining	Declining	62% Black 32% White 6% Hispanic	AFT	Three
Mill City	Urban	17,000 Declining	Declining	Predominantly Black	NEA	Five
Northwood	Rural	844 Expanding	Stable	White	NEA	None

regulate many school practices (e.g., class size, length of day, layoffs, transfers, meeting schedules, leaves of absence, evaluation procedures, preparation periods and more), there are many that are unaddressed (e.g., the structure of the school day, the selection of course offerings, the instructional content or organizational format of classes, the assignment of teachers to classes, and the testing and evaluation of students). The core of teacher activity--classroom instruction--is notably not addressed by collective bargaining agreements.

There are, however, many contract provisions that are believed by teachers and administrators to influence the quality of instruction. These define such things as the number of hours teachers spend with students, the use of non-teaching time for instructional preparation, the ratio of teachers to students, and the assignment of teachers to supervisory duties. Such contract provisions and their effects on school operations were closely examined in this study.

The six sample districts had negotiated notably different contract provisions regarding these various issues and the six unions varied in their aggressiveness enforcing what they had negotiated. For example, Metropolis had a well established and militant union that had negotiated a strong and detailed contract and maintained an adversarial relationship with the district administration. By contrast, the Northwood union, while strong, had nurtured an intentionally cooperative relationship with the

administration and negotiated a teachers' contract of only modest strength. Therefore, as might be expected, there were discernible differences from district to district in the effects of the contract and the union on the schools. Four contract provisions that were believed by teachers and principals to have important effects on instruction will illustrate such differences. These include the class size provisions that regulate student assignments, the length of work day provisions that set the minimum time teachers must remain in school, the supervisory duty provisions that enable principals to assure safe and orderly instructional environments, and layoff and transfer procedures that regulate the composition of a school's staff. Each will be examined briefly.

Class Size: When teachers and administrators were asked to list the positive outcomes of collective bargaining, they often began by mentioning reductions in class size. Experienced teachers would recall the large classes they confronted as novices. One district administrator in Plantville remembered an elementary class he taught with 53 students: "There were one-way aisles."[7]

All districts except Mill City and Northwood included some class size restrictions in their contracts. These ranged from a class size goal of 25 in Shady Heights to a fixed maximum of 38 in the Vista secondary schools. Contractual distinctions in the class size limits were made for various levels and subjects,

e.g., elementary classes were smaller than secondary; English classes were smaller than social studies. Only in Metropolis was the class size maximum of 33 constant for all levels and subjects.

Teacher unions pursue class size limits not only because such limits are believed to improve instruction or teacher morale, but also because they protect jobs. Job security was a prominent union concern in Plantville and Metropolis where enrollments were declining rapidly and teachers knew that an additional student in each district classroom would eliminate many teachers' jobs. The contract language in Metropolis and Plantville enabled teachers to limit student assignments and those provisions were closely enforced. But class sizes varied in Mill City and Shady Heights where the contracts did not establish maxima or provide teachers with any authority to control them. In Vista, where enrollments were growing, larger classes were occasionally tolerated by teachers because doing so did not jeopardize any current teaching positions.

While administrators expressed little dissatisfaction--and often considerable satisfaction--with class size provisions, they did question whether it was educationally sound to place absolute limits on class size or to police those limits closely. One secondary principal in Vista observed, "While class size works to my advantage many times, it can become a problem, particularly when the teachers and administration disagree about allocation decisions."[8]

The Metropolis limits on class size were more restrictively enforced than those in other districts. They permitted no adjustments for subject or level--typing and chemistry classes were each limited to 33 students. No contractual allowance was made for ability groupings within a school that would permit smaller classes for children with remedial needs. Furthermore, the official class size count in Metropolis included all students who were on roll, whether or not they had ever entered the class. One principal said:

> We have students we call 'ghosts' who haven't even dropped into school let alone dropped out, and yet their names haven't been officially removed from the school rolls. Until they are, these students must be counted into class size.[9]

Metropolis, however, represents the extreme in this study. In other districts, the class size limits varied by level and subject, and students were not included in the count if they weren't attending class.

Many principals argued that some class limits were necessary given the history of large classes and current economic pressures to maximize teacher productivity. However, they were dissatisfied with rigid contract provisions that set absolute limits for each classroom and prevented them from exercising discretion over how the teaching staff might be used most productively.

Length of the Work Day: In industry, the length of a work shift defines the maximum time hourly workers spend on their jobs. Salaried workers in the private sector often are expected

to work well beyond the eight-hour day and the five-day week. Teachers stand somewhere in between. While they are salaried, their work day is usually defined, either by board policy or contract.[10]

Five of the six contracts in this study specified the hours of the teachers' work day. In the sixth, Vista, the agreement called for a "professional workday," the length of which was based upon the teacher's "professional responsibilities and duties." It gave the principal the right to require teachers to report before and after school "to attend to those matters which properly require attention at that time."[11] However, it also allowed teachers to determine when work was done. Plantville and Shady Heights teachers were contractually required to be in school fifteen minutes before and after the instructional day. Mill City teachers were expected to work a total of seven-and-a-half hours (45 minutes beyond the instructional day), while Northwood teachers were committed to an eight hour work day (one hour beyond the instructional day). The Metropolis contract obligated staff to be present in school only for the instructional day. They could arrive and leave with their students.

In practice, the in-school work days of teachers varied greatly between districts, within districts, and within schools. However, overall, the contractual definition of the work day did seem to make a difference in the amount of after-school time teachers were available for students. In districts that required

an additional 15 minutes before and after school, teachers met this obligation. In Metropolis, the majority of teachers left soon after the students, but teachers in Mill City and Northwood complied with the seven-and-a-half or eight hour work day required by contract.

While many principals pointed out that they could no longer require teachers to remain in school after the contractual work day, few reported that it presented more than occasional problems for them as administrators. In Northwood and Mill City where teachers were obligated to stay well beyond the school day, principals were satisfied with the amount of time teachers worked in school. There was, as well, no significant problem reported by Vista principals who could require teachers to be present in school to fulfill particular responsibilities. There were principals in Plantville and Shady Heights who expressed some concern about the impact of defining the teachers' work day on the availability of their staff. The ambivalence of this Shady Heights principal's response was typical of others':

> Of course, there are always the ones who close up the day and that's it. But even those--some of them are quite good, and they may be quite efficient. But I would like to see more staying.[12]

Metropolis principals were more critical of the effects of the length of day provisions. Because the teachers' work day coincided with the students' instructional day, there was no specified time available for emergency conferences or after-school help.

One junior high school principal who complained that he could not require teachers to remain after school for conferences, was asked if he would request teachers to attend. He said:

> I wouldn't ask. I try to work out everything within the schedule of the day, but that isn't always convenient for the parents who would prefer to come after school.[13]

Other Metropolis principals reported that such limitations on teachers' hours occasionally compromised the quality of school services.

Supervisory Duties: In the past, teachers in the sample districts were reported to have been responsible for students wherever they might be during the school day. Schooling, like parenting, was assumed to be a full-time responsibility and the teacher was accountable in loco parentis for safety and social instruction. Before and after school, on the playground, in the corridors and cafeteria, even in the bathrooms, students were supervised by their teachers.

Gradually, through successive changes in board policies and collective negotiations, the teacher's instructional and supervisory responsibilities were differentiated.[14] Throughout the sample districts, teachers regarded classroom instruction as professional work and supervision as custodial work. One Shady Heights principal provided this illustration:

> There's one gentleman in the building who will stay until five o'clock to help kids if they want help. But, if I ask him, he'll refuse to stay and supervise the buses. They

> seem to believe that the supervisory responsibilities can be worked out--that they should be worked out. But about their teaching, they seem to believe that if they don't do it, nobody can or will do it.[15]

The six sample contracts were not very explicit about limitations on supervisory assignments. The Mill City contract only freed teachers from lunch duty.[16] The Metropolis agreement said that teachers should be relieved of non-teaching duties "to the extent possible."[17] Similarly, the Vista contract stated that the school department "shall make an effort to reduce non-teaching duties."[18] Neither the Shady Heights nor Plantville contracts directly addressed the issue. However, related contract provisions regulating duty-free lunch, preparation time, or the length of the work day were interpreted to mean that teachers would be unavailable for such responsibilities as cafeteria or bus supervision.

In practice, teachers in all districts assumed some supervisory duties, although there were notable variations among districts as well as from school to school within the same district. Generally, elementary teachers were assigned more supervisory duties than secondary teachers. Overall, teacher supervision was less extensive in Shady Heights and Metropolis than in the other districts. In Metropolis, teachers generally did not supervise students outside their classrooms except to walk them to specialists' classes, recess, or lunch. The contract

permitted but one teacher at a time to be assigned to recess. With a few exceptions non-teaching assistants rather than teachers monitored the cafeteria and the halls.

The principals in these districts expressed varying degrees of concern about the order and security of their buildings. Many were quite satisfied with the coverage provided by teachers and aides; a few were distressed that they could not assign more teachers to supervision. The most troublesome issue for principals was cafeteria supervision. In districts where teachers were released from lunch duty, the principals often supervised the cafeteria alone or with the assistance of aides. Such principals believed that cafeteria duty was a poor use of their administrative time. Both teachers and principals agreed that inadequate cafeteria supervision might lead to classroom problems. This Mill City principal blamed the teachers:

> Teachers have abdicated their responsibility for lunch hour. Kids come in from recess still very up and active, and it takes time to settle them down. Much of this activity comes into my office--settling fights and that sort of thing. But it also comes into the classroom. Now, I would not say that it's a great big, horrible disruption, but it's a problem.[19]

Teachers, on the other hand, usually regarded cafeteria supervision as an administrative problem. One Shady Heights teacher said:

> It's the principal's responsibility to see that the aides are trained. The teachers have suggested an adequate

> training program and we look on this an an administrative type of responsibility. . . . Frankly, I find it hard to justify lunchroom supervision as an educational process. This is not an educational issue; this is a convenience issue. The teachers need to eat lunch.[20]

There was rarely a case reported in this study where teachers were likely to compromise the contractual gains they had made in cafeteria duty, even though they were aware that inadequate supervision might make their own work in the classroom more difficult.

Principals expressed concern that the growing distinction between instruction and supervision might suggest to students that their behavior in public places was less important than it was in classrooms. A Metropolis elementary principal said that as a result of releasing teachers from non-teaching duties,

> the official presence of teachers is not there. Teachers are no longer seen by students to be responsible for the entire school. As a result, the students don't have the same respect for all teachers that they do for their classroom teachers.[21]

While parents may expect schools to socialize children's public behavior, the schools may no longer be organized to do so. And in districts such as Metropolis and Shady Heights where the teachers' contract has been interpreted to closely restrict teachers' supervisory assignments, principals retain little formal authority to reverse that trend.

Seniority Layoff Provisions: Collective bargaining for teachers has developed while student enrollments have been

declining rapidly in many of the nation's public schools.[22] During the 1950's, when enrollments in many districts expanded rapidly, principals often had not only the right, but also the responsibility to staff their schools.[23] Many school districts still have policies permitting principals to interview new candidates for vacant positions.[24] However, different rules--those that have been bargained collectively with teachers--must be adhered to when staff changes are the result of layoffs.

Reduction in force provisions had been negotiated or were prescribed by law in five of the six sample districts. Only Vista, with its burgeoning enrollments, had not addressed the issue contractually.[25] The Northwood contract set forth multiple criteria for teacher layoffs (overall instructional program, experience and qualifications of staff, and seniority), but the district had never used them because enrollments continued to grow and staff attrition was high. The four remaining districts used seniority as the sole criterion to determine teacher layoffs.

Principals in all districts reported that during periods of growth they had had the right to recruit teachers to their schools, sometimes raiding them from other schools in the district. Prior to collective bargaining, Mill City principals could interview prospective candidates for their schools and reject any they did not consider satisfactory.[26] Metropolis principals could select particular individuals from district-wide eligibility lists and Metropolis teachers could request voluntary transfers after

having been informally recruited by principals in other schools.[27] While principals in these districts continued to retain the authority to interview new teachers to the district, they could not exercise the same control over staff selections when, because of teacher layoffs, vacancies had to be filled by transfers.

The transfer language of these four contracts was similar. In Plantville, vacancies were to be filled strictly according to the seniority of the applicants. In Mill City, various factors including seniority were to be weighed by the school department in placing a surplus teacher. The Shady Heights contract specified that if all teachers' qualifications were equal (and these were regarded as minimal paper qualifications), the seniormost teacher filled the vacancy. The transfer provisions in the Metropolis contract permitted displaced teachers to make five choices from which the school department selected the final placement; the principal had no contractual authority to intervene in this process.

The transfer practices of the districts conformed closely to those prescribed by the contract. In Plantville and Shady Heights, districtwide seniority lists and the teachers' requests alone determined placements.[28] In Mill City, the district office did permit principals to interview teachers from the transfer list and informally influence district office decisions about final placements.[29] They could not, however, recruit teachers

from other schools to fill those vacancies.[30] In practice, most decisions were made on the basis of seniority.[31] The Metropolis principal was reported to have virtually no formal or informal influence on the placement of transfers; these decisions were made by district office administrators.[32]

Of these four districts that were reducing staff, Mill City principals could exert the most influence over the process and Metropolis principals could exert the least. One Mill City principal emphasized the importance of retaining his administrative discretion over transfers:

> If it is a non-certified occupation, such as in industry, I can see seniority as a good thing because in those jobs you're task-oriented rather than people-oriented. However, normally with a vacancy in the building, the principal has had the opportunity to interview and provide recommendations to the personnel director about the candidate of his choice. I think that that's important. There may be something very critical about the position. For example, if I had three males in the special ed program, it might be essential for me to find a strong female for the position.[33]

Metropolis principals repeatedly expressed dissatisfaction that they had too little power to review the qualifications of teachers to be force transferred. One explained:

> If I could have one wish, it would be to be able to conduct a thorough interview and to observe potential teachers in my school. I believe that the selection of the staff should be the number one most important responsibility of the principal. If a principal is able to get good teachers

> in the building, then 99 percent of the other problems will dissolve, and the principal can spend time on improving the program rather than solving one teacher's problems.[34]

From the perspective of teacher interests, the seniority layoff and transfer provisions entitled experienced staff to both job security and preferred placements. Many teachers and administrators agreed that the negotiated procedures had introduced a large measure of equity into a process that otherwise might have been controlled by favoritism. However, principals also expressed concern that in losing control over the composition of their staffs, they had lost a large measure of their influence over the character and quality of instruction in their schools.

Constraints on Instructional Leadership. The difficulties of school administration that followed from collective bargaining generally increased with the strength and complexity of the contract and with the aggressiveness of the union. Principals in Vista could manage their schools with few serious restrictions and rarely encountered challenges by the union. Principals in Metropolis maneuvered around many more constraints. Frequent seniority-based transfers, rigid class size limits, a short work day for teachers, and prohibitions against assigning supervisory duties combined to make effective school management more difficult and uncertain. A Vista principal compared his current job to a similar one he had held in a strong union district: "The difference is that there I would have to think,

'How am I going to get this done?' Here, I can simply say, 'I'm going to get this done,' and do it."[35]

It does, therefore, make a difference what has been bargained. It is possible for strong contract language enforced by an assertive union to set inappropriately low standards for teacher services and to unwisely limit the discretion of the principal to create a setting for effective instruction.

VARIATION WITHIN DISTRICTS

However, that is but part of the story. While there were discernible differences between districts in the effects of the contracts and the unions on the schools, there were also extensive variations in labor relations practices from one school to the next within the same district. One might have assumed that when teachers work under the same contract and are represented by the same union, labor relations practices would be quite consistent among schools within a district. Standardization of work practice is generally assumed to be one of the outcomes of collective bargaining.[36] And yet, such standardization had not been achieved in the schools of this study. In fact, school site labor practices and labor relationships were quite particularistic.

There were sample schools where the contract was very prominent and schools where it wasn't mentioned by teachers or principals. There were schools where it was rigorously enforced and schools where teachers knowingly bent it for the good of the school. There were schools with many grievances and schools

with none. There were schools where most teachers did little more than the contract required and schools where teachers went well beyond its minimal requirements. There were schools where labor relations were hostile and schools where labor relations were cordial. The following two schools within the same district illustrate dramatic differences in administrative style, union assertiveness, contract prominence, and the level of teacher services:

Metropolis High School #1[37]

> The labor relationship in this high school was adversarial, with the principal and building representative in open hostile conflict. The principal reported that there was a union emphasis on being able to say, "I caught you." Yet he was said by teachers to deliberately force grievances. Five grievances about school practices had been filed by the union within a year. The teachers insisted on close policing of the contract and very rarely bent it to meet the needs of the school. For example, teachers assumed no supervisory responsibilities outside their classrooms. Teachers reported being pressured by colleagues not to volunteer for extra duties or activities because of the principal's authoritarian stance toward them. Teachers expressed strong dissatisfaction with the overall organization of the school and blamed the administration for problems of discipline and disorder. The principal argued in response that such problems should be "collective concerns."

Metropolis High School #2[38]

> The union organization in another Metropolis school was regarded as quite strong, yet the labor relationship in the school was exceptionally cooperative. The principal, who was said to "go by the book with the contract" actively pursued a close working relationship with the building representative and building committee. He said:

> The building committee becomes a resource that I can call for assistance in administering the school. . . . Their involvement in this committee leads to their acceptance of responsibility for the school. . . . The faculty here have a commitment to this school. We have an understanding that this is our school, and not my school, or his school.

Teachers in this school reported approving of this cooperative venture and being very satisfied with the principal's approach to discipline and building supervision. As one teacher said, "He's a strong principal and an extremely good disciplinarian. He is completely supportive of the faculty and staff, and he runs a very tight ship."

The contract, while respected and adhered to by the administration, was occasionally bent for the school. The principal said, "Teachers in this school don't make an issue of class size unless they're really choked." In order to maintain advanced math and language courses which had small enrollments, teachers agreed to teach combinations of small and large classes, thus complying with the class size averages but not with individual classroom limits. No teachers reported being pressured to refrain from volunteer activities and there were reports that such participation was common.

There were important differences between these schools in the expectations of principals and building representatives. Teachers in the first were considerably less flexible in responding to school needs, teacher-administrator relationships were more formalized, and practices were more rulebound than in the second school. Such differences persisted despite identical district level influences of contract and union strength.

Other intradistrict differences were not always so extreme. Two elementary schools in Plantville illustrate less dramatic, but equally important variation.

Plantville Elementary School #1[39]

The principal of this elementary school was a strong advocate of teacher unionism but believed that the principal must set the standards for the school: "The teachers," he said, "will go along--contract or no contract." This principal had firm expectations about the performance of his staff. He required teachers to begin supervising the school at 8:20 A.M., 15 minutes before the beginning of their contractually defined work day. He assigned teachers to supervise the school yard at the end of the day. Neither was required by contract. He monitored the after-school help provided to students by requiring teachers to submit weekly reports of conferences held. He ran a system of staggered lunches that allowed teacher supervision of the cafeteria and playground--an unusual arrangement in the district. Although the schoolwide average on class size was enforced, students were grouped by ability and therefore classes varied considerably in size within the school, sometimes exceeding the contractual maxima.

The teachers, who were all union members, expressed considerable regard for the principal's leadership and tolerant acceptance of his high standards and extra demands. One said:

> The loyalty here is to him rather than to the union. If he told us to stay late, why everyone would. People help him out and he's good to others in response. I guess that's not quite kosher as far as the contract's concerned, but we do it.

The contract had low prominence in the school, and the building representative reported having a good working relationship with the principal against whom no grievances had ever been filed.

Plantville Elementary School #2[40]

The principal in this elementary school was also a strong union supporter, but he took a laissez-faire stance toward the teachers, the school, and the union. One teacher said, "He's extremely casual and unauthoritarian. He lets us do our own thing. He's totally permissive. He makes absolutely no demands on us." The principal expressed reluctance about monitoring the arrival and departure times of teachers: "I don't like to be a

> police officer. They say I'm too easy on them." Teachers expressed concern about two teachers who were not doing their jobs: "They're never made to tow the line by the principal."
>
> Teachers in the school were not active union members. The building committee didn't function. The issues that concerned teachers in the school--lack of direction, late deliveries of supplies, lack of staff influence over school policies, and tolerance of incompetent teachers--were not perceived to be union issues. As one teacher said, "You simply can't file a grievance about getting your crayons on time." Another explained, "There's no serious contention in this building. . . . It's more an issue of omission than one of commission."

While there weren't the stark differences in labor relations at these Plantville schools as there were in the Metropolis schools described above, there were important differences in the role of the contract, administrative leadership, and teacher services. Both principals respected the contract, but the first asked teachers to go beyond it for the good of the school; they complied. The second principal pursued a cautious course, asking no more of teachers than they were obliged to give. Teachers were approving of the first principal's direction; they were dissatisfied with the second principal's lack of leadership, however contractually correct it might be.

As these examples suggest, differences in principals' administrative style appeared to be central in determining the shape of labor relations and the level of teacher services at the school site. Intradistrict variations were unmistakable. Teachers in some schools were seen to assume extra supervisory responsibilities, use preparation periods for inservice training, attend

extra meetings, reallocate student assignments within the school, and volunteer for extra activities. Teachers in other schools might cut corners on the work day, refuse non-instructional duties not included in the contract, and insist on literal enforcement of teacher observation procedures. There was, of course, variation between these extremes.

While the popular view may be that teacher unions closely monitor the implementation of their contracts and force principals to standardize practices in conformance with negotiated provisions, that view was not confirmed by the data of this study. The principals' formal authority had been constrained by the collective bargaining agreements, but the power that principals exercised varied greatly from school to school. The contract provisions were found to be differentially implemented; some were closely enforced and some were not; contract language was not a reliable indicator of school level practices.

What, then, accounted for this variation? What enabled principals to exercise extensive powers despite their contractual restrictions? What allowed the contract to be variously enforced, ignored, abridged, bent and violated? Three characteristics of the school organization seemed particularly important in explaining these outcomes. These included the interdependence of teachers and administrators, the breadth of teacher concerns that extended well beyond the contract, and teachers' ambivalence about unions. Each of these will be explored below.

Interdependence: Even before the advent of collective bargaining, the relationship between teachers and principals was highly interdependent.[41] The success of each depended, in part, on the cooperation of the other. Teachers could not be effective in their classrooms without fair and balanced class assignments, while principals could assure order in the school only if teachers upheld administrative rules and policies. Classrooms were cellular; teachers were the street-level bureaucrats; and principals simply could not closely inspect the work of their staff.[42] Therefore teachers were granted considerable discretion in their work. Well before collective bargaining, principals had to be attentive to teacher interests if they were to command teacher loyalty.

Collective bargaining, teacher unions and contracts have been introduced at the school site into the context of this interdependence. For example, one Shady Heights principal explained how he relied on his interdependence with teachers to manage his school:

> I want safety first. I don't want kids hurt and I don't want their clothes torn. Then secondly, I want teaching going on all the time. Teachers like that. They like to be able to use their time to teach. They like me to support them in that. And when they're teaching all the time and making me happy, then they know that if they need something I'll help them out. If they have to leave for a special medical appointment, then I'll go in and take their class.[43]

Teachers in this study relied on their principals for many things that make successful teaching possible--a balanced roster, a manageable selection of students, adequate texts and supplies, and the maintenance of order in the school. And principals, who face expanded responsibilities with declining resources, were increasingly dependent on the professional commitment and good will of teachers to make their schools work.

Breadth of Teacher Concerns: While it may be appropriate to speak of union priorities when considering district level labor issues, it is necessary to speak of teacher priorities at the school site. For in that setting, union affiliation is but part of the teacher's concerns, and the relationship between teachers and principals extends well beyond the relationship between labor and management.

There was remarkable consensus among the 189 teachers interviewed for this study about what they wanted in their work. They sought salaries that enabled them to live comfortably and the job security they believed was due them in exchange for accepting positions of public service. They wanted to be assigned a reasonable number of students and classes and they wanted to reduce or eliminate non-teaching duties, which they regarded as a misuse of their professional time. They sought uninterrupted non-teaching time during which they could relax and catch up on work.

Teachers wanted equitable treatment, they resented favoritism and school politics, and they sought assurances that decisions such as transfers and duty assignments would be made in orderly and fair ways. They expected to have a modest amount of influence over school policies and practices, particularly those that affected their classrooms. They liked to be consulted and wanted the opportunity to initiate change, but did not seek large-scale responsibility for school-site matters; their attention centered on their classrooms.

Student discipline and security from intruders were among the most frequently mentioned concerns of teachers, who believed that order in their classrooms depended in part on the overall order of the school. Teachers spoke often about the lack of parental support and public regard for their work. They wished parents would emphasize the value of schooling with their children, monitor homework, endorse a teacher's expectations for good behavior, and respect the teacher's expertise.

Finally, teachers wanted to work with effective principals, administrators who not only assured the order, security, and maintenance of the school, but who also provided direction, leadership, and high standards for student and teacher success. Such administrators were said to be visible, active and principled; they expected teachers to be as well.

Some of what teachers wanted could be addressed by collective bargaining; some could not. Many of the teachers' concerns had

been dealt with in the contracts of this study, and bargaining had helped them achieve their ends. However, certain of these teacher concerns were not bargainable, including guarantees of parental support, public regard and administrative leadership. The school department could not bargain what it could not provide. Yet, while these concerns were not negotiable and were not represented in contracts, they remained very prominent for teachers. Principals who proved to administer schools effectively under collective bargaining were attentive to these issues as well as to those addressed by the contract.

Teacher Ambivalence about Unionism: While teachers perceived collective bargaining to have improved their salaries, limited the size and number of their classes, and tempered administrative abuse, they were uneasy about its effects on their professional status, on the quality of their relationships with administrators, and on the competence and performance of their peers. While levels of union membership might be high and while teachers might overwhelmingly support strikes during strained negotiations, many reported having strong reservations about both the notion of unionism and the conduct of their local organization.

Some teachers were dissatisfied with the cost and the politics of their state or national affiliate. There were teachers in each district who were unhappy with the adversarial relations and the "excessive concern for contract compliance" that

accompanied collective bargaining. Some repudiated the blue collar image of unions--pickets, mobs, confrontation--that they considered incompatible with professionalism. One of the most frequently voiced dissatisfactions of both active and inactive union members, was that unions, in meeting their obligation to fairly represent all teachers, protect poor teachers. Some teachers in all districts criticized the unions' pursuit of high salaries and reduced duties at the expense of well-maintained buildings, adequate supplies and equipment, and in-service training. As one Metropolis teacher said, "There's too much emphasis on 'me.'"[44]

Most teachers interviewed focused on one or two points of dissatisfaction that were offset by points of agreement. Few teachers expressed total disapproval, just as few voiced unconditional acceptance. Collective bargaining was viewed as a useful and necessary means to achieve narrow objectives rather than a cause deserving constant and unconditional commitment. At the district level, where the voice of one teacher might be inaudible, teachers accepted the necessity of pursuing their interests through the union. However, at the school site, where teachers were known individually and where they had the opportunity to act on their own behalf with administrators, they were far less likely to stress their union identities.

Authority and Accommodation: In the schools of this study, it was apparent that the teachers' decisions to ally with

others as union members, to define teacher interests in opposition to administrative interests and to pursue problems through formal procedures were highly dependent on the attitudes and actions of the principal. If the principal was attentive to the things that teachers wanted and successful in helping to achieve them, teachers were likely to endorse administrative priorities, overlook occasional contract violations, avoid formal grievance procedures and bend the contract in the interests of the school.

Administrative compliance with the collective bargaining agreement explained but a part of the teacher support effective principals enjoyed. In addition, these administrators were active, responsive, decisive, and held high expectations of teachers. Teachers respected them for their performance even though that performance might occasionally compromise teacher rights and freedoms. These principals knew the importance of job security, class size, and non-teaching time for their staff and they protected those interests. They emphasized the importance of the classroom and a teacher's instructional responsibilities and sought to minimize unnecessary non-instructional duties. They provided opportunities for teachers to influence administrative decisions. They were perceived by teachers to be understanding and evenhanded in their dealings with staff; they played no favorites.

These principals were also responsive to teachers' non-contractual concerns--those things that enhanced the reputation

of the school and thus the teacher's sense of professional standing. These included firm discipline practices, good community relations, high standards for teaching performance and the pursuit of incompetent or mediocre staff.

While collective bargaining had unquestionably complicated the work of principals, the organization of the school provided them with the opportunity to achieve sufficient autonomy and influence to manage their schools well. One Shady Heights principal assessed the constraints imposed on his administration by collective bargaining:

> Principals do in fact, have a few restrictions. But we don't really understand how to use all the power that we have. We don't even know where all the buttons are that might be pushed.[45]

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The picture of labor relations at the school site that emerged from this study had a few fixed and many flexible features. Certain contract provisions, once negotiated, would be fully implemented and would limit the principal's control over faculty composition, the allocation of students to classes, and the supervision of the school. Other provisions, however, were reinterpreted and informally renegotiated at the school site where such factors as teacher interests, educational consequences, administrative leadership, and staff allegiance were balanced and counterbalanced. Although collective bargaining had made it more difficult for these principals to manage their schools

effectively and provide conditions for effective instruction, it remained possible for them to do so.

Several recommendations for those who negotiate and administer the contract follow from these central findings. First, great attention should be paid to the potential effects on day-to-day school operations of any provision about working conditions that is being negotiated. How will it change teachers' obligations to students? How will it affect the principal's ability to provide for safety, security, discipline, and learning in the school? How might it restrict innovation at the school site? How might it endorse minimal expectations for teachers' work? Such questions are often ignored. Too frequently, contract language is traded for dollars in the heat of negotiations; concessions are made that appear cheap but really are costly.

The experiences of the schools in this study provided many examples where contract provisions affected schools favorably. Reduction in class size reportedly improved teacher morale and, many believed, improved classroom instruction as well. Reduction in force procedures provided order and equity to a process that was potentially chaotic, demoralising, and subject to administrative abuse. However, there were instances throughout the study where provisions addressing these same issues had been negotiated in ways that were detrimental to schools. When

class size limits provided no allowances for subject or ability groupings, and when these limits could be rigidly enforced by counting all students on roll, the quality of the school program was compromised. When the teachers' work day coincided with the students' instructional day, the likelihood of after-school tutoring, emergency conferences, or in-service training was reduced. When the contract authorized frequent bumping of junior teachers or permitted a teacher with no experience in a particular subject to displace someone less senior, the continuity of students' instruction was disrupted. When all teachers were freed of important supervisory duties, the discipline, order, and safety of the building were jeopardized. When principals could be forced to meet and confer with teachers about all changes in school policy and practice, the ability of school administrators to act quickly and decisively about urgent matters was restricted.

In these instances, the union had demanded, and management had granted, more constraints on administrative discretion and more rights for teachers than seemed warranted. Such contract provisions narrowly defined the powers of principals and the responsibilities of teachers. They established limits on teacher and administrator expectations and behavior that fell short of the complex needs of the school. Those who negotiate contracts and those who advise the negotiators must, therefore, strive to achieve an appropriate balance between student interests and teacher interests and between teacher rights and administrative discretion.

Second, the research is instructive about how principals can manage schools effectively under collective bargaining. For even in the strongest union districts, principals ran good schools. At the school site, too, a balance must be achieved--this time between teacher rights and the needs of the school. Principals who were described by district office administrators and teachers to be effective in managing labor relations in their schools, were neither autocratic, nor had they abdicated their responsibilities to teachers. They did not simply fit their administration around the various constraints and limitations imposed by collective bargaining. They had thought carefully about what teachers wanted from them and what they wanted from teachers. They calculated their actions to expand teachers' feelings of responsibility for the school and to increase their own opportunities to influence teacher services.

It was important to the teachers of this study that principals respect and honor their contract. But they also allowed for flexibility, amendment, and mistakes when the principal's actions were believed to be responsible, well-intentioned, and in the interests of a good school. They accepted authoritarian as well as democratic administrators and were critical of laissez-faire principals who gave them too much power. They were tolerant, and often respectful, of principals who held high standards, monitored teacher performance, and expected more of teachers than the contract required. Teachers did not

want to run the schools, but they were prepared to support a principal who demonstrated that their schools could be run well. For most teachers, being part of a good school took precedence over union membership or close enforcement of the contract. As one Metropolis administrator observed, "Teachers like to be part of a winning team."[46]

NOTES

1. William Edward Eaton, The American Federation of Teachers, 1916-1961: A History of the Movement (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1975), pp. 141-142.

2. Doris Ross and Patricia Flakus-Mosqueda, Cuebook II: State Education Collective Bargaining Laws (Denver, Colorado: Education Commission of the States, 1980), p. v.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Douglas E. Mitchell, et al., The Impact of Collective Bargaining on School Management and Policy (Claremont, California: The Claremont Colleges, 1980), p. 1.

6. There are two major sets of bargaining outcomes affecting schools that warrant serious attention--budgeting outcomes and organizational outcomes. The first, while extremely important, are not addressed in this study, the focus of which is organizational.

7. Interview with Plantville district administrator, 6/7/79.

8. Interview with Vista principal, 1/10/80.

9. Interview with Metropolis principal, 11/4/80.

10. The instructional day in the sample districts had been altered little by collective bargaining. The current school hours in most districts had been in effect for many years, in some cases having been changed in the 1950's during periods of double sessions. Therefore, it is the length of the teachers' work day rather than the students' instructional day that is discussed here.

11. Bargaining Agreement Between the Vista Education Association and The Board of Education of the Vista Unified School District, 1979-1982, p. 35.

12. Interview with Shady Heights principal, 6/26/79.

13. Interview with Metropolis principal, 11/4/80.

14. Mitchell, et al. report on a similar trend in their sample districts, The Impact of Collective Bargaining, pp. 10-11.

15. Interview with Shady Heights principal, 8/14/79.

16. Master Agreement Between Board of Education, Mill City and Mill City Education Association, September 1, 1977 to December 31, 1979, p. 57.

17. Agreement Between the Board of Education of the School District of Metropolis and the Metropolis Federation of Teachers, September 1, 1980 to August 31, 1981, p. 29.

18. Bargaining Agreement Between the Vista Education Association and the Board of Education of the Vista Unified School District, 1979-1982, p. 34.

19. Interview with Mill City principal, 11/8/79.

20. Interview with Shady Heights teacher, 10/2/79.

21. Interview with Metropolis principal, 10/21/80.

22. National public school enrollments peaked at 46.0 million in 1971-72 and then began to decline to 41.6 million in 1979-80.

    W. Vance Grant and Leo J. Eiden, Digest of Education Statistics, 1980 (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics), p. 34.

23. George C. Kyte, The Principal at Work (New York: Ginn and Co., 1952), p. 106; Harry F. Wolcott, The Man in the Principal's Office: An Ethnography (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1973), p. 194; Susan Moore Johnson, "Performance-Based Staff Layoffs in the Public Schools: Implementation and Outcomes," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 50, No. 2, May 1980, p. 214.

24. A 1979 survey of high school principals revealed that 97% of them had the power to either select teachers who would then be endorsed by the district office, or to select teachers from limited options provided by the district office. Lloyd E. McCleary and Scott D. Thomson, The Senior High School Principalship, Volume III: The Summary Report, (Reston, Virginia: National Association of Secondary School Principals, 1979), p. 19.

25. In response to the demands to staff new schools each year, the Vista superintendent had initiated a system of staff selection modeled on the National Football League's player draft. The system gave both teachers and principals considerable influence in making staff assignments for the new schools. Interview with Vista superintendent, 1/9/80.

26. Interview with Mill City principal, 11/7/79.

27. Interview with Metropolis Labor Relations Office administrator, 6/24/80.

28. Interviews with Plantville and Shady Heights district office administrators, 6/7/79 and 7/26/79.

29. Interview with Mill City principal, 11/7/79.

30. Interview with Mill City principal, 11/8/79.

31. Interview with Mill City personnel director, 11/5/79.

32. Interview with Metropolis principal, 11/4/80.

33. Interview with Mill City principal, 11/6/79.

34. Interview with Metropolis principal, 11/4/80.

35. Interview with Vista principal, 1/8/80.

36. Charles Kerchner writes:

> Collective bargaining places great reliance on uniformity. Indeed, one of the stated purposes of labor relations is to avoid capriciousness in the treatment of employees. The objective reality behind this goal is that uniform rules for the treatment, payment, and discipline of employees are part of every labor agreement.
>
> Charles T. Kerchner, "The Impact of Collective Bargaining on School Governance," in Education and Urban Society, Vol. 11, No. 2 (February 1979), p. 195.

37. All data for the description of Metropolis High School #1 were gathered during interviews with the principal and teachers in this school on 10/23/80 and 11/6/80.

38. All data for the description of Metropolis High School #2 were gathered during interviews with the principal and teachers of this school on 10/23/80 and 11/5/80.

39. All data for the description of Plantville Elementary School #1 were gathered during interviews with the principal and teachers of this school on 8/17/79, 9/20/79 and 9/21/79.

40. All data for the description of Plantville Elementary School #2 were gathered during interviews with the principal and teachers of this school on 6/28/79, 9/27/79, and 9/28/79.

41. Lortie likens the relationship between teachers and principals to that between vassals and lords during medieval times:

> The Superordinate is expected to use his power to protect and help those of lesser rank; they, in turn, are bound in fealty to return the appropriate deference and respect.

Dan C. Lortie, Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1975), p. 200.

42. Ibid., pp. 15-17, 196-197; Gertrude H. McPherson, "What Principals Should Know About Teachers," in Erickson and Reller, The Principal in Metropolitan Schools, pp. 235-236 and 242-243; Weatherly and Lipsky, "Street Level Bureaucrats;" Seymour B. Sarason, The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change (Boston, Massachusetts: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1971), pp. 118-120.

43. Interview with Shady Heights principal, 8/9/79.

44. Interview with Metropolis teacher, 11/18/80.

45. Interview with Shady Heights principal, 10/5/79.

46. Interview with Metropolis administrator, 7/9/80.

APPENDIX A

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

I selected six districts that would represent a diverse sample of those involved in collective bargaining. Such a sample would permit me to map the range and variation of labor relations practices. Clearly, there are types of districts that are not represented in the sample. However, the districts included in this sample are diverse in size, controlling state statute, AFT/NEA affiliation, regional location, urban/suburban/rural character, racial and ethnic composition, enrollment and economic trends, strength and activity of the union, and strength of the contract. On the basis of preliminary data, I began with hypotheses that suggested that the effects of teacher unionism might be less extensive, formal, and fixed than they are generally thought to be. Consequently, I intentionally included districts reputed to have militant unions and experience with strikes.

There were many possible combinations of districts that might have comprised this sample. Generally, districts were selected because they were recommended by those familiar with local districts (SEA administrators, union leaders, community leaders, other school administrators) as ones that matched the combinations of characteristics I was seeking. I selected the sample sequentially to ensure that

the balance of variables could be maintained. I requested entree into eight districts. Two refused my request; the remaining six make up the final sample.

Within each district, I conducted in-depth interviews with central office administrators, union leaders, principals and teachers. Because of the relatively small number of central office administrators and union officers, I interviewed all who were identified as relevant to the research. The selection of principals was made with the help of district administrators and union leaders. I requested a balanced selection that varied in age and experience, sex, school level and location, labor attitudes, and administrative style. I repeatedly asked those interviewed whether the sample was "balanced and representative of the range of principals in the district."

After completing the interviews with principals, I selected three to five schools in each district that seemed to represent the range of grade level, location, administrative style, and union activity within the district. With the principal, I selected a sample of seven to fifteen teachers, once again seeking diversity on a number of variables: grade, subject, sex, union views, support or opposition to principal, degree of involvement in school

activities. The union building representative, who was always included in this sample, helped select the teacher sample in some cases and always reviewed the selection for balance. I spent one or two full days in each of twenty schools, with the length of visit depending on their size.

The 289 interviews of this study were semi-structured, and varied in length from thirty minutes to two hours. Throughout the research I made a concerted effort to triangulate information and responses, to disconfirm hypotheses, and to seek a range of views. Extensive notes were taken during all interviews. These were later dictated onto tape and transcribed, yielding 2500 pages of field notes.

In addition to the interviews, I informally observed classrooms, corridors, cafeterias, main offices, teachers' rooms and after-school activities. I attended several faculty and one school board meeting when labor issues were on the agenda. I collected copies of contracts, statutes, memos, teacher handbooks, union publications, district publications, and board policies from each of the six districts. I have subscribed to local newspapers for six months following site visits in order to follow current issues, e.g., negotiations, strikes, pending arbitrations.

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Session II Discussion:

Reactions to Johnson Presentation

Elizabeth Cohen:

In all the years I have been studying principals, I will be darned if I can see what this word "leader" means. From an organizational-sociological point of view, a leader is someone who gives orders, hires, fires, gets compliance, evaluates, and controls. Do principals today really have the power to do that kind of thing? I have given up on looking at principals as organizational leaders in the classic sense. Now, some are leaders, but not in the classic organizational sense. I think we do ourselves a great disservice when we look at these correlational studies where it does indeed turn out that there is a relationship between the principal and effectiveness. We say "Aha, that's a leader!" That triggers all kinds of ultra-conventional notions about what a leader looks like. The poor principal who doesn't know any better is going to try to snap out orders and act like an organizational figure, and he or she is going to fall right on his or her face, because principals don't have that kind of power. And don't blame it all on collective bargaining. Principals never could fire teachers anyway. They could only possibly get them transferred. I once had a debate in my class with 18 countries represented. I asked, "What does it take to fire a teacher in your country?" Only foreigners in Saudi Arabia could get fired. It was either the union or the civil service.

When we do our studies we are constantly finding very, very great weaknesses in formal evaluation systems. Principals don't very often evaluate teachers. We had the Early Childhood Education categorical aid program in California, where the school had to set out goals in basic skills and state how it was going to be done classroom by classroom. The state sent inspection teams around to

make sure that they did things just as they said they were going to do, and they looked at their achievement scores. Those principals, poor souls, were really accountable for events that they had precious little control over. And yet, even under those conditions, those principals were no more likely to evaluate their teachers frequently than non-Early-Childhood-Education principals. Even under those extreme conditions, it didn't cause schools to look more like normal organizations. They still looked rather abnormal. They did get to be rather better coordinated or else the teachers were unhappy under those conditions. But we didn't find the evaluation you would expect from a real organizational leader.

Johnson's paper is quite important in giving us some clues about principals who do manage to survive despite problems and are keys to the success of their schools. I'm not arguing that they are not. I'm just asking how they do it. We would some day like to give poor principals a little guidance in these matters, and if we get them all off in the wrong direction--have them ride off on a white horse--it isn't going to get them anything but grief. We want to be very careful about that, quite seriously. Now what she found out is very important. First, she found out that the situation varies from school to school. That's like everything about schools--always this profound anarchy of decentralization. Now what her data show is that those principals who make things happen do it in sort of a political, negotiative exchange process, which is something I have concluded happens in many schools. For example: he's a good guy, he stands by us, he gets good discipline in the corridors, he supports us. Therefore, when he asks us to teach an exercise class we are not going to bitch about it. That kind of exchange relationship, I believe, is what counts

for some of these successful principals. You have to think of it as chips that the principal gets--a set of chips that the teachers owe him or her because of his or her supportiveness.

Now I began to suspect this a long time ago when I found the most powerful predictor of teacher morale, of teachers' belief that the school made good decisions and stuck by them and evaluated them properly, was principal supportiveness. And another student of mine, Anneke Bredo, found that when you ask teachers under what conditions they would comply with the principals' instructional program, they say, "If the principal would work closely with me in instruction." So you get in there and you give real support and under those conditions that is considered a real chip. That's real exchange and then you will be able to get compliance if you want to make a brave new plan for school improvement. If the principal wants to set aside some collective bargaining provision, the teachers have to owe him or her something. So the good principals, these effective principals are not what you call ordinary army generals; they are politicians.

I love the story Susan gave about the principal who made the union committee a close ally--talk about cooptation. That's brilliant. I know one principal in the Early Childhood Education program. He didn't know anything about the individualization which that demanded, so he used the money to hire the coordinator that the teachers dearly wanted, who would really come in and help them with the classes. That principal was in such good shape with all his teachers that they would then put out all the effort that was necessary to make the change that he wanted. And he was always buying off people one way or another--getting them released time, for example. He was one of the best in the business--turned

around three or four schools. He was a politician in the best sense of that word. That's why this whole issue of collective bargaining and how it affects instruction becomes very dependent on what teachers like and want in a principal. If the principal has no "chips" with the teacher--doesn't even keep order in the corridor, which just has to be a job of the principal--then collective bargaining is going to become another tool against the principal. That becomes a negative thing. Teachers are going to make it really tough for him because he's a bad principal; he's not doing his job, and he's not giving them the kind of support they need. They can get him with the union contract--anything will do in this war. And so I really think it helps to see this as an exchange process.

Now let's talk about those marvelous people, principals who are highly concerned with instruction. Collective bargaining obviously can represent a problem for them because of its focus on time. Time is an incredibly important resource if you want to do any school improvement. Anybody knows that. And furthermore the principal has got to be able to ask favors of extra time in order to get any kind of school improvement. It's going to take extra effort, and you have got to have the time and the energy and motivation. Those are some of the hardest things that the principal has to ask for, and the teachers are going to require more support in return for this extra effort. If you are going to lose <u>all</u> control over your staff selection of tasks or lose control of your time, I don't think you can do much school improvement. So, even if you are a really strong instructional leader I think this does represent a fairly serious problem for you, unless you are in good enough standing that you can get the teachers to ignore these provisions. Now if we are concerned about administra-

tive and instructional effectiveness, this study warns us about the difficulties of generalization. I think Johnson shows us that we need more analysis of conditions under which the administrator has an impact on instructional effectiveness. We need a much better model than organizational theory provides us on how the administrator gets this effect. I told you what I think it is, but I'm not ready to tell principals how to do it. We need more sociological analyses. We also need more documenting of current social history, because collective bargaining takes place in a context. It's very much affected by terrific pressures for accountability, and as Susan documented, it's very much affected by declining enrollment. There is an interaction between declining enrollment and collective bargaining which is very dramatic. So you have to follow these trends and see how they interact.

Finally, I really want to reiterate that we have false notions about how instructional leadership is achieved or maintained. I do not think it's through ordinary organizational methods, except in the area of discipline. When it comes to getting a firm, fair, consistent disciplinary policy in schools, there is a case for an organizational model. If you don't have a policy in that area, your teachers are going to be very unhappy. It's shocking the number of schools where the teachers say there is no such policy in the shcools, especially schools for lower-class children. There's where your organizational model works well. When it comes to getting compliance and effort in classroom matters, the model works less well. I think we have some false notions about how this wonderful problem-solving process takes place. God knows I am a believer in problem solving, but many principals don't have time to sit down with teachers and do problem solving. Sometimes problem solving takes place between a teacher

and an aide. Sometimes it takes place between a resource teacher and a teacher. I don't think we have very good ideas about how to start that process going and where on earth we get the time to do it in a school already constrained for lack of time. So I have to close by saying I want to caution you about the kinds of studies which we are being flooded with that say that the key to an effective school is instructional leadership. I don't think we have models that we can imitate. I don't think that any single model works under all conditions and I'm just putting up a great big caution sign. Thank you.

Charles Clemans:

I am really appreciative of this direction of research. I'm faced every day with dealing with collective bargaining and contract administration, and it is really refreshing to see that become the focus and subject of research for Susan Johnson, Randy Eberts, Larry Pierce, and others. It's really helpful to us because it's helping us work with everyday problems. That's research we can put into practice and of course some of you in this room know that's one of my hobby horses. I want to see research have some practical utility. I am also very pleased with Susan's paper itself. I find it to be very clear, very understandable. Normally I need a translator to read research findings, but in this case I didn't.

I would like to share a thought or two about Susan's findings. She has two principal recommendations in her paper. One of them is that negotiators should try to achieve an appropriate balance between student needs and teacher rights. A second major implication is that principals can learn to work with contract language. I think those are probably accurate perceptions, but I really believe that there is more to be learned from further study. For example, I think one

of the provocative findings of this study is teachers' attitudes about the blue-collar union approach. I think that needs to be communicated to the union organizations themselves. Maybe they are producing a product or providing a service that really isn't the service or the product that the teachers themselves totally want. That ought to be communicated to the AFT and the NEA both. I have a hunch about that, however. As soon as you give them your study, they are going to do one of their own. And I wonder what the result might be.

Another implication of the study's findings that I think needs to be looked at is how you select or educate principals to do a better job of running their schools within the context of tight collective bargaining. She found that there were marked differences among buildings, and those differences were largely a product of the behavior of the principals. If that is the case, what characteristics do we need to be looking for when we are hiring principals? Also, what do we need to be doing with our present principals in terms of inservice to enable them to become more effective in this context.

Another one I think needs further investigation is to what extent our scarce resources are being eroded by bargaining and contract administration. An audience that ought to receive paramount consideration is the legislatures that have enacted these collective bargaining statutes. They need information about how the statutes are operating and what sort of results they are producing in terms of resources and educational outcomes. And another observation I made of the study is that the emphasis in it was really at the school level. I think there is another level that needs to be looked at and thats the district level--the degree to which school boards are hampered or facilitated by collective bargaining statutes and the imposition of district-wide policy. There are times

when bargaining agreements get completely in the way of social policy. For example, some of the large eastern districts for several years didn't qualify for certain federal funds because they couldn't move staff around to achieve racial balance. The reason why they couldn't move their staff around is because they had staff transfer policies in their contracts that really limited administrative and policy-making discretion at the district level.

Now I have some thoughts of my own about bargaining. If you believe as I do that cordial relations are desirable and that you do want a working relationship that isn't a strong adversarial relationship, then the climate needs to be instigated at the district level. The bargaining takes place at the district level, contract adminstration typically ends up at the district level, and I think that the climate for a collegial and cooperative working relationship with the teacher organization really needs to start at that level. You have to find some places to cooperate--if you don't have some project you can work on together, then invent one so you have something you can do together for the organization. Here in Oregon of course we have the annual job of selling a levy election. And that's a super place to get the teacher organization, your public, your school board, and your administration banding together to achieve a common goal. It's a natural place to develop some of that cooperation that will spill over into other areas and make the rest of the job more efficient and more effective. There are some other places we can cooperate as well. One of them I think is in the area of school management. I really do believe that teachers have a strong role to play in the development of the instructional program at the school level. I don't think that it is appropriate to put it into the contract. You negotiate how teachers will be involved, but I think if you work

at it from a collegial standpoint outside the contract you've again demonstrated a place where you can work together and achieve a common goal, thereby developing that cordial relationship rather than the adversial one.

My second thought on collective bargaining is that it sets public policy in secret. Oregon public meeting law is so strict and so specific that a school board can't even go out and buy those crayons without having it done in a public meeting that was previously announced at least 24 hours with notice to the media. However, the bargaining process can make fundamental decisions about spending--you know, 75 or 80 percent of our school district's budget, profound effects upon how these resources will be allocated, how people will work, the length of the work day, and all sorts of those sorts of things--and they are taking place in secret because the collective bargaining process is a closed process. Any information about what is happening in bargaining comes out in ways dictated by the teacher organization. Now maybe that's good. I once saw a slogan that I really loved. It said, "Persons who respect either sausages or laws should watch neither being made." And that may also apply to collective bargaining. We had one teacher in Portland leave the collective bargaining process because his ears were tender--couldn't stand the language.

And finally I am really concerned that collective bargaining is oftentimes keyed to the least common denominator of our teaching staff. If it isn't spelled out in black and white and paid for, then that person assumes it is not his or her responsibility. Now I am going to give you some personal experiences. About a week ago, I was in my office looking down over the hill at our football stadium and our coaching staff without pay was out there painting the bleachers. They did a beautiful job, on a fairly hot day with the sweat

dripping down, and they weren't getting a dime for it. We bought the paint and furnished the rollers and stuff but they were out there doing that totally on their time--summer time. The same crowd of dedicated people went in and completely upgraded our weight room so that they could have kids doing weight training for the summer. Our teachers hosted an awards dinner this past spring at the close of the school year, an honors dinner for our honor graduates, where the teachers were in the kitchen cooking and out serving, and they decorated the room and they hosted the kids and their parents on their own time. They are walking that extra mile. Nearly 100 percent of our teachers participated in a campaign to defeat ballot measure 6 which really would have damaged us financially. Nearly 100 percent of our teachers participated in our campaign to sell our levy elections. The fear I have is that the collective bargaining mentality, the collective bargaining process, can cause us to move more and more towards the least common denominator teacher.

Randall Eberts:

Economists do not have much experience interviewing teachers, principals, and superintendents, but they do have statistical tools that are useful in studying the general trends of collective bargaining across the country. Larry Pierce, in political science, and I have an ongoing project looking at the impact of collective bargaining on a large number of districts in the states of New York and Michigan. We also have a sample of over 350 districts and 5,000 teachers randomly selected across the country. So we try to bring together studies like Susan's and couple them with more general investigations of trends in collective bargaining across the country. Now some people might feel that I'm in alien territory talking about a case study when I myself do research using

statistical methods. But I feel that both kinds of studies are equally important in understanding the impact of collective bargaining. Case studies such as Susan's provide researchers like me with material on how to formulate the problems that exist in school districts. The question that I would ask is, "Is the experience that she is documenting in these six districts a general trend?"

A study like Susan's may be presenting a hypothesis. One of the things that she looked at was class size. And she said that teachers in her districts viewed the class size provision in their contract as a means of preserving their jobs. A statistical researcher like myself would take that observation and make it into a hypothesis. I would ask the question, "does class size reduce teacher quits or teacher layoffs?" Looking at the data I have for over 500 school districts in New York or 600 in Michigan or the 350 in the national sample, I tested that hypothesis to see if that is the case. I did and I found that it wasn't. That is not to say that I couldn't find six more districts in New York, six districts chosen randomly in which class size was an important part of job security. What I am saying is that, on the average, that is not the case. So that is the type of work Larry and I have been doing in terms of collective bargaining.

The reason that I mention these things is that again, by combining what Susan does and we do, we can then see whether or not her observations apply to other school districts. We can also do that by looking at a number of other case studies. We can look at Kerchner's and Mitchell's study of 8 districts in California or Perry's study of 9 districts in Illinois, but when you start combining all these districts you see that they have so many different characteristics that you can't keep track of them unless you are willing to sort out

those characteristics that make school districts different.

Let me share a few other observations from our work. We looked at the relations between job security provisions and teacher layoffs and we found this was important, but we had some curious findings. If a district had a job security provision, then there were fewer layoffs of teachers in the 35-to-40 age range but more layoffs of younger teachers. The question we wanted to answer was "Is this a general trend?" We find that it might be. I should mention that those studies that we did on job security included over 130,000 teachers in New York.

Another very important issue in collective bargaining is, "Does collective bargaining alter the time spent by teachers on various functions?" If we are all concerned about the school's role of educating students, then all those ingredients that go into effective schooling should be important. We looked at what effect collective bargaining had on the percent of time spent during the day on particular activities in our national sample of 350 districts and 5,000 teachers. Contact instruction with the student was one activity. Time spent on administrative and clerical duty was another one. Time spent with parents was another. And what we found where there were some contract items that will increase the percentage of time spent teaching or with the student and there were some contract items that will reduce it.

We also examined the conditions in districts that cause those contract items to appear. Is there a situation in which teachers and principals can work together in which no contracts are needed or no specific guidance is needed? There has been some very preliminary work done on this. We are still searching for some of those characteristics of the teacher's environment in which the

contract item appear. What I can share with you now are things that we haven't found. One thing that we might find, that changes in enrollment would be a good predictor of the appearance of job security provisions or class size provisions. We found that wasn't the case for our sample of school districts. Also we found that resources didn't make that much difference. If you were losing resources, if you weren't getting as much money for textbooks, it still didn't make that much difference. What we did find however was that there is a strong neighborhood effect. If the district next door has a contract item, you are going to try to get it, too. Also we found that if the district was in fairly good financial shape, more contract items appeared. These are some of the general trends that we find in our studies.

Session III

District Instructional Policy

Implications of School Governance Research

Session III

The Source and Substance of Conflict in Educational Governance

Harmon Zeigler

I want to talk about my latest research report, "A Comparison of the Source and Substance of Conflict in Educational and Municipal Governance." My desire to compare school governance with municipal governance grows out of two previous studies I conducted. Both of them reached essentially the same conclusions, although they relied on different data. One was published in 1974 and the other one was published in 1980. The first one, Governing American Schools, was a national survey of school boards and superintendents. The second one, Professionals Versus the Public, was a longitudinal study of a small sample of school districts. Both books concluded that superintendents are most responsive to professionals and least responsive to the public. Now, this focus on the insulation of school governance created a fair amount of dissatisfaction in the circles of educational administration. A lot of people also asked, and I think quite correctly, what schools did for them. When I said that professionals were responsive primarily to other professionals, some educational administrators and researchers asked "Are schools that unique? Isn't it true that most professionals in most public bureaucracies respond to other professionals more then they respond to their clientele?" The answer is, obviously, yes. That is the case. I cannot imagine a public bureaucracy being truly more responsive to its clientele then to other professionals. However, it then becomes a question of degree. This led me to ask the question "Are school districts in fact different? Are they indeed unique when compared to city governance?"

So what I did was to compare the behavior of superintendents with that of city managers. The ideal sample, which the funding agency promptly told me to forget due to financial considerations, would have been a national sample of 900 cities with matched pairs of superintendents and city managers. In the end we interviewed 25 city managers and 26 superintendents in the Chicago metropolitan area and 27 and 26 respectively in the San Francisco metropolitan area. Those two areas were chosen because the high concentration of city managers there helped to keep the travel costs to a reasonable level. There are few other areas that have such high concentrations, but this is a good sample I think because of other differences between the two geographical areas.

Superintendents and city managers hold a common ideology based on the municipal reform movement. Both superintendents and city managers are products of the desire of reformers from the turn of the century to get school and city management as much as possible out of politics. They wanted to minimize conflict, rationalize decision-making, and institute business-like processes which would insulate the bureaucracy from undue and short-term political pressures. It is only reasonable to assume, therefore, that two kinds of managers, who were essentially products of the same political movement, should look at their jobs similarly. On the other hand, there are substantial differences that should make the comparison intriguing. The most obvious difference is that the superintendents are basically responsible for delivering a single service; they are supposed to supervise an educational organization which educates people. In contrast, city managers have a multi-faceted sort of responsibility. Some call it a Balkanized kind of city government. Cities are concerned with police, fire protection, zoning, planning, etc.; so it is not a single service organization. Some may feel that, due to the many

different types of services, it is more difficult to hold city managers accountable because they have so much to do. In another sense, they are easy to hold accountable because when they don't do something, it is rather obvious. If you have a problem on your street, or you have been mugged and nobody comes, then you know that things aren't going so well. However, it is rather hard to link a superintendent's behavior with student achievement, in comparing the district to the national average, so there is a bit of a difference in accountability between the two systems.

The focus of this study is not so much on responsiveness as on conflict management. This study of the management of conflict is based on the assumption that both cities and schools are facing shortages and a scarcity of resources and that the politics of scarcity is the politics of conflict. This is not exactly a theoretically earthshattering notion. When there are plenty of goodies to distribute nobody really gets excited when some program sops up a couple of million, since you don't miss it. When resources become scarce, the level of tension related to who gets what rises appreciably. Obviously, both cities and school districts are facing a decline of resources. So there is good reason to compare the two types of local managers because they both were affected by the reform movement and they are both facing the problem of declining resources. Now, the next question is to what extent does the condition of declining resources reduce insularity? I will go into that issue by comparing superintendents and city managers. First, I will talk about some differences in the sources of conflict they face. Then, I will talk about some substantive differences between the kinds of conflict they experience. I am not going to try to draw any implications for teaching, since I neither know anything about it nor claim any expertise in the matter. I have got enough sense after being in the

business for 20 years to keep my mouth shut when I am totally uninformed, though some of you may disagree with that. The interviews were completed in March of 1981, so this is not exactly old data. The reason I am bringing this up is because people frequently say "Well, Governing American Schools was right in 1974, Professionals Versus the Public was right in 1980, and you were right until the day before yesterday--but then everything changed." So I would like to reiterate that these interviews were completed in March of 1981.

Basically, one major difference between city managers and superintendents is in what they see going on out there in the public. The superintendents are far more likely than are managers to believe that the public that they serve is essentially in agreement. They look at the public and see unity, while city managers look at the same public, or a comparable public in the same area, and see disunity. Whether they are right or wrong, of course, is not yet within the province of my research. I will answer that question later on in my research, but right now what I can say is that whatever is going on out there, superintendents think the surrounding environment is relatively placid, calm, consensual, and satisfied. They also have the same image of their relationship with the legislature. Here, again, is a major reason for comparing city managers and superintendents. They are both professionally trained, and both legally responsible to a lay board or council which is not professionally trained. There's a potential for substantial tension between professionals and lay persons in all kinds of government. Superintendents believe that their lay board understands the role of the superintendent. The majority of them, in fact, approximately two-thirds say

there is no tension to speak of between themselves and the board as to who does what. The division of labor is understood by both parties, and therefore they don't fight that much about whether the board gets to administrate or whether the superintendent gets to set policy. They say, "We understand who does what to whom." In contrast, city managers don't say that. There is a substantial amount of tension between city managers and the council with regard to the division of responsibility. So, to summarize the argument thus far, superintendents see a consensual community and a consensual board; city managers see a dissentious community and a dissentious board.

Now with regard to board dissension, there is a factor I really didn't anticipate. Frankly, I was somewhat surprised by it and, therefore, will report it to you. One of the theories that I am intrigued with, is the extent to which local legislative bodies can approximate real ones. Most city councils, and I think almost all school boards, are non-partisan and elected through at-large, rather than ward-based, elections. Therefore, city councils and school boards don't really approximate state and federal legislatures in that Democrats and Republicans aren't there. However, it is possible that if there are cohesive and stable factions in a city council or a school board, then some approximation of the political party process could occur even though the legislature is non-partisan. It is possible that they divide time and time again into two factions so you could figure out who wants what, which makes it inherently more possible to hold them accountable. I would have predicted, given what I know about superintendents and city managers, that city managers would have said, "Yes, there are stable factions. The liberals want this and the conservatives want that."

But that isn't what they told me at all. As a matter of fact, they are less able to predict factions in their legislature than are superintendents. The reason that this is the case, I would suspect, is because superintendents list so few people as being in opposition--there is usually only one or two who vote against the majority. Be that as it may, city managers have more opponents and deal with more floating, unstable factions than is the case for superintendents, which makes their job with the legislature more difficult.

Superintendents, therefore, rarely take a position with which the majority of the board disagrees. There is an extraordinarily high reporting of the fact that the majority of the legislature rarely, if ever, disagrees with them. In fact, 79 percent of superintendents we interviewed said they rarely or never have had disagreements about policy with the school board. Earlier I asked "Do you have any disagreements about appropriate roles between you and the board?" and superintendents generally answered in the negative. The next question was "Well, what about policy?" Again, the answer was "No--everything is ok." This is not necessarily the case for city managers. There is more of a tendency on their part to say that there is a disagreement about policy. I just want to reiterate, that city managers do see their councils as less consensual, less predictable, and therefore less amenable to their control.

We also asked questions about conflict within the organization which I suspect are not the most relevant for your needs, so I will pass over them very briefly. I would like to say, basically, that this is one area in which there is not very much difference between city managers and superintendents. They all report quite low levels of intraorganizational conflict. In other words, city managers and superintendents do not tell me that a major source of dispute in their jobs stems from the line officers,

the staff officers, or the employees. The majority of both groups say that they are in agreement with their employees. Since superintendents are in fact, as they tell me, fairly well insulated from community conflict, and get along quite well with their staffs, line officers, and employees, then the obvious implication would be that the staff and employees benefit from the insularity from the community.

Another rather intriguing question, one that attracts quite a bit of media attention, is the relationship between city and school district governance and the state and federal levels of governments. The interaction of the two types of governments became a fairly major issue with the growth of federal intervention in education in 1965 and with the intervention of the federal government in city politics with the Air Pollution Control Act and the Air Pollution Amendment to that act, affirmative action, and so forth. It would be assumed, I think, by most everybody that there is a lot of conflict between local government and the federal and state levels of governments. There is a question of federal and state mandates and complying with standards imposed upon the local government by external governments. This is not exactly what the founding fathers had in mind when they talked about federalism, so there should be some conflict between these local governments and the federal and state governments. I asked questions about how much conflict there was between them and the federal and state governments and what kinds of issues created conflict. I also asked about conflict between the school district or municipality and other forms of local government (e.g., the county). To reiterate, one of the goals of the reform movement, of course, was to insulate education from community politics and conflicts. Therefore, the reformers should be ecstatic over the fact that the superintendents spend

a good deal less time in conflict with other local governments than do city managers. Actually, half of the city managers report that they spend a great amount of time fighting with other forms of local governments like the county, the council of governments, and people like that. Most superintendents, on the other hand, indicate that they are fairly well set apart from the family of local government, so the reform movement did okay. That was one of the objectives. It certainly didn't work well with regard to city managers, but the superintendents did in fact stay pretty much out of local politics.

In addition, there is an appreciable difference between municipalities and school districts with regard to conflict with state and federal agencies, which is contrary to what I expected. I would have thought that there would have been conflict more on the part of superintendents, because they do in fact deal with highly visible implementation problems with the federal government. But city managers spend significantly more time in conflict with state and federal agencies than do superintendents. That superintendents are less bothered by external mandates than are city managers seems kind of odd, because they have got more external mandates to deal with. One explanation is that they are institutionalizing and adjusting to federal mandates, whereas city managers have yet to do that. I must tell you an anecdote that I find amusing. In talking with one city manager when I was pre-testing this question, I asked about federal intervention and the city manager gave what I think is a really clever answer. He pointed out that he has been city manager for 15 to 20 years and that the turnover among federal implementation officers occurs about every six months. So they know less than he and they are so easily bamboozled and soon gone that he really doesn't spend much time worrying about them. However, that does not turn out to be the case among his colleagues because they do spend more time worrying about federal mandates than do the superintendents.

I would also like to compare superintendents and city managers in terms of the substance of conflicts they face. The findings regarding the comparison of the sources of conflicts faced by superintendents and city managers is fairly consistent with my earlier work. Superintendents are insulated in comparison with other local officials whose jobs are theoretically and legally comparable to theirs. Now we will examine the kinds of conflicts they encounter. I will skip over the material that isn't germane. One major difference between the two types of local managers regarding the kinds of conflicts they face is that superintendents are substantially more bothered by financial problems than are city managers. In an era of declining resources, this situation bothers superintendents more than their counterparts in municipal government. That may be due to the fact that they are in fact suffering more financial problems because their revenues are based largely on average daily attendance which is declining. There are two factors contributing to this decline. The birthrate has peaked; therefore, fewer people are going to school. In addition, the private schools are picking up a fair amount of enrollment every year. In fact, they are increasing their enrollments when, in comparison, public school enrollments are declining. While municipalities do need people for a tax base, the financial structure of city government is less responsive to short-term population changes than that of school districts. This perhaps explains the fact that superintendents are more worried about finance.

Superintendents are also more worried about collective bargaining. A clear majority of superintendents listed collective bargaining as a problem, compared to only about a third of the city managers. While superintendents are significantly more bothered by financial problems, collective bargaining, and federal regulations than are city managers, there are

no significant differences between the two groups with regard to the extent to which they are bothered by state regulations, affirmative action regulations, and racial problems. Going back to the fact that superintendents are more bothered by collective bargaining than city managers, two plausible explanations come to mind. Superintendents may view collective bargaining as more of a personal threat than do city managers because the process may not be as well institutionalized in school districts. In other words, superintendents may have a tendency to view collective bargaining as more of a threat to their authority than do city managers. City managers may not view it as anything more than just another institutional problem of the job, like fixing the fire hydrants. The alternative explanation is that superintendents have more involvement in collective bargaining, which I will find out as soon as I get through analyzing the data and as soon as we can hold constant whether or not they actually have collective bargaining in the districts or in municipalities. I am not sure which of these is the case, because I need to do more extensive analysis of the data.

Well, that is the essence of what I have learned so far. To put it all in a nutshell, I think one could make the case that if superintendents are in fact as I have described them, relatively free of conflict compared to city managers, then those who are employed by school districts should benefit from the results of this insularity. This means that one would expect more protection for professionals in educational organizations than there is in city government. Finally, I know we read all about superintendent burn-out and have seen headlines all over the country saying they will last only short periods of time, but our interviews suggest that reality is different from the headlines. People ask me time and time again, "How can you say

this when I read in the headlines that Tom Dorland resigned because he couldn't take it?" Well our study shows that when compared to city managers, superintendents do not suffer the kind of conflict described in the news. I have no explanation for why my data consistently refutes popularly held notions, except that I have a lot more confidence in systematic surveys than I do in headlines. Thank you very much.

Session III Discussion:
Reactions to Zeigler Presentation

Betty Jane Narver:

I play two roles--activist and researcher--and I will sometimes be speaking in each one of them. I will be very frank. I find it difficult to respond to Harmon. I appreciate that he's just beginning his data analysis but I guess I don't have a clear sense of the direction he is taking. I didn't gather that from reading the paper or listening to him this morning.

Also, having spent time talking to a number of superintendents, particularly from the Seattle Area, I would have a hard time believing that so many superintendents are saying that they live in a conflict-free world. I have a difficult time recognizing that consensual society in which Zeigler's subjects operate. I have trouble believing that there is little conflict in Chicago and San Francisco. Seattle is not the most conflict-ridden place in the world, but I do know what it's like for a superintendent (i.e., highly conflictual) and I do know something about tenure for superintendents (i.e., the turnover is fairly high). Harmon mentioned some city managers as having been there for fifteen to twenty years, and the fact that they tend to have higher longevity than the federal people who are monitoring them. It would be very interesting to see the statistics on turnover for superintendents and city managers.

I guess I also have a problem with the lack of discussion at this time of the contextual issues that Susan Johnson was talking about, as school districts are very diverse organizational entities. I didn't see this reflected in the paper, but I don't know what his interview instruments were like, so it may be impossible to explore this question at the present stage of data analysis.

I would like to talk a little bit about influences on school districts, particularly from citizen or community groups. I'll talk about this influence pro-

cess in the context of the area that I know best, Seattle, as there are some instructive things to learn from this example. I will refer to the school closure study that Richard Weatherley, Richard Elmore and I did in Seattle. I don't know how many of you may have heard about this study when Richard Elmore recently spoke at a seminar here. Some of the things I'm saying will probably be new, as we sometimes take different positions. I found the school closure situation interesting as I stepped back and observed it from the outside, as I had spent a lot of time on the inside working on school closure and declining enrollment kinds of issues. One of the interesting things for me was the variety of involvement by different kinds of groups in Seattle, in terms of school closure. It is instructive because it offers some sense of the way various kinds of groups can organize and what kind of influence they tend to have on policy: including both policy setting and the implementation of policy within a district. It is at the school level that those groups are first most likely to form, as the school closure issue revolves around affected students, parents, and teachers. We pointed out in our study that, generally speaking, the first line of citizen involvement is at the school level. If I may go back to Harmon's paper, one very real difference I see between a school district and a city government is that in a school district, conflict tends to first focus around the school level rather than the central level as would be more true for a municipality. Harmon stated that citizens more often know the names of district superintendents than members of the school board, which supports his hypothesis that professionals, rather than community board members dominate educational decisionmaking. However, it seems to me that the principal is the first line and that whether or not you know who your superintendent is depends

on how involved you get in city-wide issues. If you do get involved at the district level then you also get to know who comprises the school board. But it is at the school level where these important educational issues really come together and where there is a great deal of concern by many citizen groups. Of course this also depends on within-district characteristics, such as size of schools.

Then you find also that groups which start up around an issue, such as school closure, are usually ad hoc because they are focused around a major task such as stopping school closure and have a legitimate concern about getting the district to respond to their needs. In addition, you find on-going organizations which take an interest in school matters, such as the P.T.A., the League of Women Voters, etc. These kinds of organizations are in contact not only with the local schools, but also with the district administrators and the school board. They have certain kinds of impact on the schools depending on the strength of individual leadership and on the number of people that they represent. The Chamber of Commerce usually has a good representation and a rather substantial impact on the school district. What happened in Seattle was interesting because in addition to school based ad hoc groups and the formal regular citizens organizations, a number of coalitions were formed. Various organizations came together to look at an issue, not as it affected any particular school or even a neighborhood, but instead to try to look at some of the city-wide issues that these people felt were being neglected in the formulation of policy regarding school closures and even in the generation of information.

The whole question of the expertise of the superintendent and administrative staff is one I think needs to be looked at very carefully. I think schools of educational administration have assumed that they prepare people for a major

change such as school closure by giving them a blob of information, a set of technical facts which they can take out and use. There are some real questions as to whether that in itself is a very fruitful activity right now in times of change, and particularly, retrenchment. In addition, some school administrators don't seem to operate at sophisticated levels regarding their approach to the gathering and dissemination of information, perhaps because of the insularity that Zeigler mentioned. For example, school districts often do not look at other governments, which they definitely need to do, especially if they are closing schools. Obviously, their actions regarding school closures have tremendous impact on other jurisdictions: parks and recreation, health care delivery, and a variety of other social services. Some of these coalitions, which do not necessarily represent special interests, can be useful to a district by providing information which helps to set priorities for its agenda that result in the improvement of both policy formation and implementation. Some community groups, in Seattle and elsewhere, are becoming more powerful, in part, because they are generating their own sources of information rather than relying solely on the information generated by the district. I think that the information that the district offers to the school board or the public is often not very useful to inform policy-setting.

Using the example of the school finance issue for the State of Washington, one of the things that frustrated citizens who were involved in that issue was the fact that, basically, there was not useful information about the effect of the present system of educational finance on schools. Policymakers in the state legislature were equally frustrated. They would go to the office of the superintendent of public instruction to try to get pertinent data, but instead

got aggregate data, which really wasn't useful to them as a basis for their decisions. Consequently, one of the roles citizen groups have begun to play is to provide information. Some of the Seattle citizen's groups include a wide range of experts: lawyers, journalists, and university professors. Often the experts in education-related citizens' groups outclass experts from the school district. Therefore, citizen involvement in the policymaking process becomes not just a political question, but also one about the quality of information used in making policy. The danger, I think, concerning citizen involvement in this process, is when citizens have such power over information that they begin to take on some of the responsibilities that the district really should carry themselves. Therefore, it is important that the district also develop its information-generating capacity. I think educational administrators and other professionals in the school district need to be trained both in the development of information gathering skills and in the political skills that we talked about yesterday. This is especially true regarding the whole issue of collective bargaining, which I hope will be a key element in Zeigler's work.

It is especially important how superintendents, or their appointed people, deal with collective bargaining. Superintendents often come from the ranks of principals who have moved up through a paternalistic system and sometimes have trouble dealing with confrontation when bargaining with the teachers in a way that doesn't end up with conflict being rampant throughout the district. I think this all comes back to the issue of the importance of adequate preparation and training of educational administrators. This is one of the points we bring out in our school closure study. Many school administrators have not been prepared to deal adequately with declining enrollment and resources and the whole question of information.

One of the issues that I think is terribly important is the whole question of power. Yesterday, we (i.e., Susan Johnson, Charles Clemans, Liz Cohen, etc.) talked about it in terms of some principals and superintendents who are inexperienced in working with collective bargaining laws and therefore act powerless. From my activist's perspective this sense of powerlessness throughout our system is a very frightening thing. Those groups involved in school closure decisions ask the district to do X, Y, or Z and the district says they can't because it's not in the contract. In a lot of ways the district may use the well-negotiated contract as a scapegoat--an excuse not to be accountable. A good deal more can be done to improve education when people are willing to take responsibility. This also holds for citizens, teachers and even kids. We all know the reasons kids have for why they can't do their homework. That issue of powerlessness and lack of accountability becomes more frightening as you push it up the system. If you go to the district they say they can't do anything. Then the teachers say they can't do anything. Everything comes down to state legislature and the legislators say they can't do anything. Pretty soon you are up in Washington and you go into any federal bureaucracy they say they can't do a damn thing. So you are finally left with a sense that nobody holds power, and you know that at some point somebody has to assume it. What concerns me is the question of who is going to assume that power. I would like to see some diffusion of power among appropriate levels at which policy decisions can be made.

Last year I did a study of collective bargaining in Seattle, particularly as it related to the issue of finance. When I examined the relationships among the various actors concerned with resolving that issue what I found again was that

sense of powerlessness. Citizens tend to look toward the local school as the appropriate place for certain kinds of decisions, but often schools fail to take responsibility for making those decisions. I am now working with the Citizen Education Center Northwest and will be doing a field study in Seattle of citizen involvement in schools. One of the things we will be looking at is exactly how parents can be involved, at both the school and district levels, in effective ways to improve education. We need to develop some substantive models to understand how citizens can play more effective roles in the formulation of school policy.

Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin:

I would like to look at the model of governance that underlines at least two of Harmon's papers, this paper on the "Source and Substance of Conflict" and "Who Governs American Education: One More Time." The assumption in both papers is that the old model of school governance that characterized school districts in the sixties still holds (i.e., that superintendents dominate school boards, in particular, and educational policy making, in general.) If I were to do governance, "one more time," I would assume a somewhat different model. I would say instead that state-level influences are beginning to critically shape local educational policymaking. In fact, local control is fast becoming a minor branch of theology. However, the nature and strength of state influence on educational policymaking varies substantially from state to state. Consequently, a governance model that may describe Oregon may not be helpful in explaining what occurs in the educational decision making arena in California. For example, there are major differences between states regarding the degree of state control over textbook selection, testing, local allocation decisions and so on. However, from what I hear from local people in a variety of geographical

locations, state involvement over decisions related to education is generally increasing. Many SEAs, in short, are becoming significant actors in local education governance.

There are two basic models which describe the state role in local school policies and practices. One is the compliance model which entails the use of positive inducements (e.g., categorical funds) and negative sanctions (e.g, regulations containing penalties for non-compliance) to create incentives for implementing the desired programs. The second is the assistance model which involves the provision of professional expertise or financial aid to help localities carry out those objectives which are consistent with the state's educational goals. The latter model relies on persuasion and allows for a greater degree of local initiative and variability in the implementation process. These two models also hold when we talk about federal involvement in educational policy. The compliance model tends to dominate federal policy. One of the reasons given for federal reliance on the compliance model is the variability among states in the degree to which state policies are consistent with federal objectives. For example, there are substantial differences between states such as New York or Massachusetts and Alabama regarding provision of services for the handicapped or the disadvantaged. Rather than require compliance only from those states which fall far below the norm in the provision of specialized educational services -- a politically risky task -- federal regulations are made to be uniform across all states even where they penalize (or create a duplication of services in) states which already have exemplary programs in those areas. But one of the costs of regulatory uniformity is that, in many cases, the regulation has become the program. Richard Elmore and I recently wrote a paper on the

trade-offs between these two types of models in federal education policy. One of our conclusions was that in the field of education, where there exists a fairly high degree of professional autonomy in the classroom, the technical assistance model may be more effective in promoting the overall educational goals of the programs to be implemented. Further, overreliance on regulations to accomplish federal (or state) objectives actually impedes local efforts to develop better practice.

Two other developments also accompany the expanded role played by many state education agencies. One, state education agencies seem to be becoming more responsive to locally identified needs by acting as a broker of financial and professional resources for local districts. Consequently, the school principal has at his/her command a greatly expanded pool of state resources. Tied to this is the second trend we have seen at the state level, an increasingly cohesive and decentralized model of state service delivery. (This development also has implications for Harmon's governance model.) There are intermediate units of almost every description springing up all over the country. They aren't just regional superintendents' offices. Some of them are governed by a consortium of local districts and some are formally connected to the SEA. Some have local authority which has evolved over time and some have state-delegated authority. Some are simply branch offices of the SEA; some -- such as those in Oregon -- have no effective relationship with the SEA. What are they doing? They are doing any of a number of things. They are running inservice education. They provide specialist assistance. They are doing monitoring. They are purchasing headquarters or central equipment depositories. They are helping districts to prepare applications and evaluation reports. One of the most exciting models I saw was a service team that was designed expressly to serve as LEA advocates.

Team members live in the region they serve as state department employees. They help the district put together applications, to plan local services and broker specialist resources. Also, when it is time for the state to come to do monitoring they serve as spokesmen. Thus the locals, especially in the small rural districts, aren't stuck with the problems of planning, accountability, and having to interpret IEPs and so on. Given these changes at the intermediate and state levels, and the factors that shape local policymaking, I would try to capture these new actors if I were planning a governance study.

This brings me to another point in response to Harmon's paper. I think that even with further data analysis he will stick to the conclusion that superintendents are isolated. I really think this is off-mark. First of all, this conclusion is wrong if you accept my argument that "who governs" education has to be answerable to the state level. If school superintendents aren't knowledging the new politics of education in the state, they aren't doing a good job. School superintendents need to be aware of the new politics of education in order to maintain state support for the public schools. There is no longer a soft spot in the hearts of legislators to support education. It is no longer enough to have a special interest. Instead, a whole new coalition has to lobby for education, if the present level of support is to be maintained. This is similar to what Betty Jane was talking about at the local level. You can't just argue for more funds for education without regard for how it will affect other social services such as: CETA programs, mosquito abatement, libraries, transportation and so on. In California, for example, there has not been an education bill in four years. Education is now included in omnibus legislation. So school people have to show how their interest will benefit or penalized other

sectors because of tight budgets.

As a final comment, I would like to say, in contrast to Harmon, that I don't think school districts in the Chicago or San Francisco areas are calm, and I have been in both those SMSA's. In San Francisco we have Alioto who can't control the salary of certificated employees. His board of supervisors seem more attentive to union demands than to Alioto's budget balancing problem. Further, the average age of teachers in the San Francisco school district is fifty-five. There are no more special projects. Neither is the Chicago school district, nor the surrounding districts, "calm" for similar reasons.

I have two conclusions then, based on the dissimilarities between Harmon's data and mine (both of which were collected in the Spring of 1981). The first conclusion I think tracks with what Betty Jane was talking about and what Susan [Johnson] was implying: Perhaps asking these governance questions out of context of the larger policy system led to incorrect conclusions. This leads to my second thought. If I were doing this study the last way I would do it would be a survey. I may be totally off track because I haven't seen his instruments, but I can't imagine how it would be possible with survey methodology to go in and ask some questions and get back information that reflected the context, the complexity, and the difficulty of problems faced by both city managers and school superintendents.

James Kelly:

I would like to take a few minutes to make some comments about Harmon's presentation. These comments are related both to the dialogue between Milbrey McLaughlin and Elizabeth Cohen and to Charles Cleman's point yesterday afternoon that as a superintendent he would like research to be practical. I think if we are going to seriously attempt this task, research that involves comparative

methodology and includes a wide number of relevant participants in the governance process should be initiated. Milbrey McLaughlin and Betty Jane Narver suggested that the Conflict Management study should include more intensive analysis of the role of state organizations and of community interest groups. I think Susan Johnson's description of her work yesterday is a beautiful example of the potential of case studies to provide another view, not necessarily the correct view, but another view of the collective bargaining process. It is difficult to "nail" Harmon to the wall for not providing a more comprehensive picture of the topic, as the data he presented was only initial data. A problem in conducting comparative research is that when any of us try to compare two roles, such as superintendent and manager, we are vulnerable to stereotyping.

I would like to go back to the theme that came out of much of the discussion yesterday and today that emphasizes the need to systematically examine contextual factors to understand the influence process. A number of participants mentioned anecdotes about school governance issues. I would like to offer some of my impressions that sprang from these comments. Betty Jane Narver mentioned that her citizen's organization brings together professional resources in the greater Seattle area which includes academic personnel. The implication is that academic faculty have more expertise than the employees in the State Department of Education. Implicitly this could create an adversarial situation as additional academic input could lessen the governing process. In a small group discussion yesterday afternoon Ray Talbert said he was interested in the concept of loose-coupling. What Betty Jane Narver has just illustrated is an example of loose-coupling, because she's shown the creation of another social force that expands the informational pool for decisionmaking and increases the capacity of

citizens, who are not necessarily professionally grounded or invested, to play a role in the policy process.

One of the problems I had with Harmon's paper was not the research itself, for he is still working with initial data and just setting up a framework to examine contextual variables. My problem is that in some of Harmon's writing there is a nostalgic plea that professionals in large organizations should be responsive to citizens but they are not. My feeling is that if we are interested in the influence process, we would not study superintendents and city managers alone. Instead, we would study the relationship between the incumbents of those roles and other actors in the system, as suggested by Susan Johnson and Betty Jane Narver. My concern is that if we are interested in testing the De Tocqueville thesis that governmental institutions in America are responsive to influence we must now go outside the institutions to study the way in which this coupling process occurs.

Elizabeth Cohen mentioned that she didn't feel that principals acted as educational leaders. She gave examples of how some principals did develop political skills and engage in exchange processes that helped them to be more effective. That is what we need to study: both the relationships between principals and superintendents and the relationships between educational administrators and citizens groups. What is this exchange process? When does it work? When does it fail to work? So my comment about Harmon's paper then is to suggest that he be given encouragement to use additional kinds of methodologies in his inquiry. But it may not be possible to do this as there is not enough money around for us all to conduct super refined, large scale research. I think the answer to this problem, which Randy Eberts addressed yesterday, is that complementarity between types of studies is even more important today. As one

example, the work that Randy and Larry Pierce are doing can be seen as being complementary to Susan Johnson's study on collective bargaining.

Last year I had the pleasure of working with Carolyn Lane on an initial examination of the issue of community influences on schooling in education. She introduced me to research by Herman Walberg, which is informative about the power of parental involvement in education, independent of social class. This is another area that we need to examine: the nature of the relationship between the school system and parents that facilitates learning. If educational research becomes too myopic, too concerned with the interests of the professionals rather than the clients, which I gather is one of Harmon's concerns, then we lose our opportunity to engage parents as essential resources in the educational process. Of course, the involvement of parents may be threatening to teachers, but research by Walberg and others indicates that parental involvement facilitates learning.

Many of the presentations at this conference provided useful information to guide future research on the influence process in education. Jane Stallings' work on improving teacher effectiveness has potential for those interested in positively influencing the educational process. Betty Jane Narver's work on community involvement as well as Liz Cohen's and Susan Johnson's insights as to what makes an effective principal also sheds light for further study on the influence process. Both Robert Slavin and Charles Clemans talked about within-district factors that positively influence what happens in classrooms and schools. Slavin talked about the use of small groups in the classroom so that students will learn to work cooperatively together, where the student peer group can act as a positive, rather than a negative influence on learning.

Clemans noted that it was important to create a climate of cordiality within the district so that teachers will feel professionally committed to improving student outcomes, rather than doing the minimum required in the collective bargaining contract. All of these points are important to research on the influence process in schools.

The main point I am trying to make is that we shouldn't damn Harmon too much, but rather we should nudge him to look at contextual variables, because if he doesn't I think some of us will. More importantly, I think it would be unfortunate if Harmon's research was interpreted as stereotyping, but that's one of the difficulties with conducting research that implicitly classifies two professional roles where there is wide variability in the performance of these two roles.

The last point I would like to make is that I found some provocative themes running through the presentations. I found that both Jane Stallings talk on educational technology and Susan Johnson's case studies provided me with a better understanding of what happens inside school districts. If we are concerned, as Harmon noted, with this being a time of scarcity of resources, then it is important to give priority to comparative research on the influence process that includes the principal actors, including citizens.

Session IV

Summary of Conference Implications for Research and School Improvement

Session IV

Implications for Future Research and School Improvement Efforts

Daniel Duke:

Since I am about to embark on an exciting new job to train educational leaders, I decided that I would try to approach the conference as if I were hunting for ideas that would be applicable to the actual training of educational leaders. And after listening carefully to the tips and admonitions in research results that have been reported, I have tried to synthesize various comments into a helpful profile of the ideal school administrator. Now I have learned that our ideal principal is a cross between Norman Thomas and Benito Mussolini. Bill Cooley has recommended that we install mirrors throughout our schools for the benefit of our administrator. Bob Slavin tells us that the principal should encourage small groups of students to instruct each other, but not while Jane Stallings' observers are stalking the corridors. After listening to Susan Moore Johnson and Bill Harris, I am convinced that the administrator who welcomes collective bargaining is analogous to the Olympic Javelin Team that elects to receive. Harmon Zeigler convinced me that the crisis in our cities and the crisis in our schools can be resolved by having superintendents switch places with city managers.

In all seriousness, our knowledge base is getting impressive and what the speakers succeeded in doing was convincing me that we are closer than I had realized to knowing what an effective school consists of. Our technical core, if you will, is coming of age, but perhaps it's the perversity of history that just when we reach a time when educational researchers finally are having something substantive to say to practitioners, the context in which public schooling is taking place is undergoing such major changes that the likelihood of what we

have to say will be heard or acted upon is diminishing daily. It's as if you were trying to complete a topological study of the region around Mt. St. Helens while the volcano was erupting. Now I don't want to sound overly cynical at this time in my remarks, but I did not hear a great deal, at least until Milbrey started talking, about such developments as declining enrollments, retrenchment and fiscal crisis in public education, de facto segregation, racially isolated schools. The gap between low socioeconomic status and high socioeconomic status students in terms of achievement is actually increasing now, so that the former seem to be suffering disproportionately from retrenchment. What about the failure of the teaching profession to attract vital new recruits or to retain talented veterans despite the critical economic situation now? These veterans are leaving. And so you must ask questions like, "How practical is staff development at a time when teacher turnover is great, when even student turnover in schools in California is about 25 percent per year?" What good is it going to do to work intensively in a single school with that kind of turnover? Susan Johnson did deal with the reality of collective bargaining, but she didn't address a major issue growing out of her work. Here we have been talking about how crucial is the principal's leadership; and yet collective bargaining, if it results in a loss of principal's authority, seems to be running counter to a lot of the evidence that we are hearing today about the importance of the principal as a leader. Now maybe authority isn't a zero-sum game and maybe there won't be a loss in power on the part of the principal if teachers gain. That's something that remains to be studied. The fact remains that times have changed, and many of our cherished assumptions about schools have changed as well. Some of the speakers addressed these changes, and I was pleased that they did. Funding grows scarce. Are we going to be able to

afford the kind of inservice that Jane Stallings can so ably provide? Fewer resources mean that there are fewer incentives available to administrators to use to achieve their objectives. And there are fewer people with technical expertise available to help them in that effort. Students no longer come to school convinced of the value of education. Schooling, at least at the secondary level, is no longer compulsory in the way that we knew it. There are simply too many ways that students can opt out of schools. And so using a model of compulsory education at the secondary level is unrealistic. Women no longer are a captive labor market for education and that has resulted in part in the loss of talent that once flowed into the schools. And, as Milbrey said, local control of education perhaps was always a myth, but it's more so today then ever before. So it's fine to talk about shared decision making, but if the degrees of freedom are nonexistent, what are you going to be making the decisions about? The only time in California now that we are finding teachers involved in decision making are when decisions are made about how to cut. And that's like throwing up our hands and saying, "who wants to be Captain of the Titanic"? You can't share decision making only during the lean times.

Well, what I was asked to do was talk about what researchers can do. There are some important questions that we can address. For example, are there ways in which problems can be viewed as opportunities? Now, retrenchment just may be the ideal time to innovate, because when things get bad we have less to lose by change. We also need to learn more about the unintended outcomes of change. I wrote a piece several years ago called "The impact of trying to make an impact: or the negative side of noble ambitions." I tried to explore those things that change agents unwittingly do that leave a school worse off then it was before.

And it occurs at every phase from planning to implementation to evaluation. Extra care needs to be exerted if we are going to use retrenchment in the present situation as an opportunity to improve schools. Extra care needs to be exerted to be careful that we don't actually leave them worse, though it's inconceivable in some cases that they could grow worse. As researchers we need to share the caution of Susan Johnson's mentors at Harvard regarding the principal's role in school improvement. It's clear that the principal is important but I am beginning to worry when that becomes the single panacea that appears in all the research. What we may have done is create a tautology in which the effective school is defined as the one with the effective principal. In order to test that notion, I think what we need to do is find ineffective schools with principals who measure out as being effective or strong principals, and we need to find strong schools that have ineffective principals. And if we can find those sort of outlier cases, we might begin to understand more about that delicate relationship.

What else can researchers do? Well the sort of thing that I am interested in now is getting involved in reconceptualizing the job of teaching; because despite all the recent changes in education that I have cited and others have mentioned, one thing does not change and that's the way that we conceptualize the job of teaching--the work that teachers do, the time frame in which they work. Most of the work reported here was based on studying the way schools are and the way teaching is. And that's fine in a sense but by the time we gear up to train teachers according to Jane Stallings' model--which is a fine model--or any other model, the job of teaching is likely to have changed radically. It takes 20 to 30 years to gear up that kind of training. We are going to be behind the times. I think we need to work closely with practitioners to think

about what teaching can and will look like in the future. For example, I didn't hear anybody talk about the impact of microcomputers on teaching. It's going to be enormous. Some of my students at Stanford and I have been imaging what teaching could become. Allow me to close with some of these speculations, to give you an idea what may be possible--though not necessarily desirable. Take questions, for example. The basic mode for instruction for teachers has been questions. Students come to schools; teachers ask students questions. What if we reverted, in Margaret Mead's sense, or maybe moved ahead, and had students come to school with questions to ask the teachers? Maybe teachers don't need to have a monopoly on instruction. Maybe it makes sense to think of a different mode in which the responsibility falls on the student. Or what about the teacher's role as a disciplinarian? Bronfenbrenner talks about Soviet schools, where the peer group's function is disciplinary. The only role that a teacher can play is to moderate the sentence. At least it's something worth thinking about. To pick up on a notion that Bob Slavin talked about, the peer group often is assumed to be a negative influence. What if we try to develop its capacity as a positive influence? Would it be possible to give a single grade to an entire class instead of grading individuals? And what if the grade that we gave the class was the grade of the lowest-performing student in class? Then it would be in everyone's interest to help everyone else, because if one student was allowed to fall behind all would suffer. What if teachers certified that the students had learned certain skills instead of trying to impart those skills? It may be that for young children of elementary years, it makes more sense for teachers to spend their time teaching parents how to teach their kids than actually teaching students themselves. What if we stopped training

teachers to identify problems--the so-called diagnostic-prescriptive model? Instead, train them to identify what students do well. It seems to me that we have bought into medical models so much, focusing on problems, that now all our researchers and all our educators can do is come up with problems. We lose sight of the fact that that is what we have trained them to do--we haven't trained them to recognize what goes well. For many students, it may no longer be crucial that teachers serve as sources of information. Coleman made the point some years ago that most students now come to school information-rich and experience-poor, and yet we are still teaching them as though just the opposite were the case. What if we reconceptualized staffing patterns as well as the tasks of teaching? Something that interests me, and that I spoke about earlier when I was here, is dual-career tracks where we stop trying to provide staff with fully-tenured teachers but instead set aside only one-quarter of the positions in a school for tenured people. We could lengthen the time it takes to get to that position and pay those individuals double what they get. Then, we could set up a series of three-year terminal contracts that could be filled by people who just might be passing through education on their way to another career but have something to offer. Or by people going through midcareer changes--individuals in business or medicine or in other fields that have something to offer but don't want to make a career commitment to teaching. We would pay those individual less than those teachers who do have a career commitment.

These are just things to think about. I don't suggest that any of the speculations hold the key to effective schools but researchers have got to do more than just describe and analyze how things are. If we ignore the future, I feel that we will fall victim to what--for lack of a better term--I call the "W. T.

Grant's syndrome": trying to improve schools by studying the way things are, going back to basics, may be analogous to what happened to Grant's, which was a large retailer in the U.S. When Grant's went out of business, it represented, and still does, the largest bankruptcy action in U.S. history. When Grant's started experiencing declining sales and difficulty, it made a conscious corporate decision to do what it had always done, only more of it. And that served to accelerate its demise. I have a feeling that may be what is happening in schools now and with researchers. In closing, if I were asked what is the single most important thing that educational researchers can do to help schools in this era of retrenchment, I'd say "Stop doing research and have children".

Harriet Doss Willis:

At this moment, I feel very strongly that the presentations should have been reversed, because Dan has given you a snapshot of the future and I'm going to bring you dramatically back to the present. Let me give you the context in which I have been working. What Bill Cooley has been doing in Pittsburgh is very similar to what I have been attempting to do in 20 large-city midwestern school districts with student populations of 50,000 or more. What we did at CEMREL before 1976 was very similar to what Bill described. We were generating solutions--rearranging instructional practice in the form of curriculum, and worse yet in the form of packaged curriculum. That was the wisdom of the middle 60's and early 70's. And we discovered pretty fast when we went back for followup visits of one kind or another, or to help the publisher peddle the package solutions, a lot of those experimental versions that were fairly expensive were sitting on the shelves along with the other packaged solutions that were there when we started in the first place. So given that set of

circumstances, we moved to a different mode of operation. Of course, some of that had to do with the persuasion of the funding agency. The National Institute of Education said to us in about 1976 or 1977 that R & D centers shall do basic research in an area of national significance, and regional educational laboratories shall provide services, applied research, and technical assistance to a specific region in the country. Instead of sticking with the three states in which we had been working, we decided to make our region of the country a ten-state region. When you start expanding your services to a region like that, you have trouble unless you change the way in which you function. The ten states contain 25 percent of the nation's student population. There are really 20 cities in that region that have 50,000 students or more--cities like Detroit, Chicago, Minneapolis-St. Paul, St. Louis, Kansas City, and Louisville. If you have just been reading the newspaper, you know the kind of educational settings those have been in the last few years. What we did as an initial approach was to invite the superintendents to come to a meeting to talk about what we might do to work together in a different way, getting them to generate problems and solutions collectively with the regional educational laboratory. None of the superintendents came, but they all sent representatives from central administration--directors of evaluation, directors of curriculum and instruction, directors of planning, or directors of staff development. Now, five years into the enterprise, we are really glad that those are the people they sent and I will tell you a little bit more about that later.

After the meeting, the focus of the work was to do three things. One was information sharing. We discovered when those 20 representatives came together that most of them had never talked with one another even though they were from jobs in like categories. While they had similar problems, some of them really

did have some solutions that were working with some of those problems. So one goal that came out of that meeting was to be able to call a job-alike person from another central office to talk about the study that had been done on the dropouts and the solutions that had been proposed. The second goal was finding out if the R & D knowledge base could be used for the problems, solutions, or in any way for the school improvement plans that were in different stages of development in those school districts. The third goal is to work on some of those solutions jointly with the resources provided by the laboratory. A lot of my comments come from the fact that, for three years, I have spent half of every month in one school or another or sitting in a state department of education. I was really glad to hear that my assumption about state departments was going to be confirmed by the study that Milbrey McLaughlin has done. In 1976, we made the assumption that the state departments or the state legislature were likely to be the locus of control eventually. That was pretty much based on the activity surrounding competency-based education. We invited, from each of those ten states, a representative from the state department of education to be part of what we now realistically call the urban education network. And those were the people who began working on this enterprise.

I have a general statement that I would like to make. From my perspective sitting at the table in those school districts, it's neither as bad nor as good as some of us think, given the comments that there are promising potential outcomes in school improvement. In those school districts, there are terrible things that your help is needed with. I have another personal comment. I must be doing a job that is very different from anybody else here because all the other presenters make their notes on a yellow pad, with the assumption that

maybe you won't need them again when it's over. I always make my notes in a spiral notebook, and I have about 30 of them now. I just have to tell you why that is. In the Detroit public schools, they have four layers of central administration. They have the central administrator--the superintendent and his cabinet--a group of helpers (they'd be surprised to hear me call them that). They have a group of people who are assistant superintendents and district coordinators and deputies. That's not all--they have a group of regional superintendents. They have a decentralized system. So they have a group of regional superintendents and their helpers. So when you are going in to talk about how CEMREL can help with school improvement, you get a very large table. While I'm sitting there, there is frequently a challenge or question or opportunity for me to remember a note from a meeting I attended in Oregon that has just the line in it that may get the meeting moving. And so I travel around the world with a selection of three or four of those spiral notebooks.

Now I'd like to address the topic. As I have been working with the school districts, there is a focus on school improvement you wouldn't believe in terms of the rhetoric. School improvement is a rhetorical activity. (In some school districts, it's nothing else.) There is a school improvement task force in every one of those 20 school districts. In some instances, there is the task force representative from the state department of education. (I can't confirm from firsthand experience that there is a strain between urban school districts and the state department. There's a bit more in the way of acceptance of one another than there was ten years ago.) So there is this thing out there called "school improvement", but it's focus is primarily on staff development, because there is little change in staffs in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Illinois. The average teacher age of 55 that was reported here is pretty much the situation in

most of those school districts. Maybe it's a little younger--somewhere between 30 and 55. There is not a lot of turnover, given the contracts that have been negotiated and the lack of flexibility for getting rid of tenured teachers and replacing them with younger teachers. There is a stability in the staff, and the focus of most school improvement efforts is staff development.

If you limit your attention to the research reported here on effective teaching, you have only got part of the picture. On the average of twice a week, I get a telephone call from one of those school districts saying, "Can you call Jane Stallings and see if she can come and do staff development for our teachers at the secondary level in November?" I have gotten about four or five of those, so I spent a lot of time influencing and negotiating with Jane Stallings when I was here. But alongside that is work that is being done at the Institute for Research on Teaching and other places. How staff development gets delivered by those people is very different from the work that Jane Stallings does. So I feel an obligation to provide that kind of information. There is more knowledge there than we could reflect in a meeting this size. When this is presented to a school district, it provides them with some very interesting alternatives. School people are more sensible than we have made them sound here. They typically make decisions to either phase in and use all three or decide to use some combination of all three. In many ways, they make sensible decisions. Rather than worry about whether you can get Jane Stallings's work in or not, get kind of a continuum of all of the knowledge bases that address a single problem. That's how the Center for the Study of Reading, in Boston, is ready for any discussion in school districts.

Once I begin getting school people to translate their problems to me, which

is an important step in this process, I find the quest for your answers--in spite of the fact that they don't know exactly how to go about getting them or exactly how to use them all the time. Now remember I am talking about people who were nominated by fairly serious superintendents to work with us, so they may be better than average in expressing the quest, but there is a real quest for your answers to be applied to their problems. That seems clear to me.

The difficulty is that it does typically require someone who can provide translations or interpretations or applications that make sense to them. Most of that has been applied to effective teaching. Not much is being applied to their concerns about "instructional leadership". There is not the same level of concern out there about the leadership of the principal, but it's coming. Ron Edmonds is seeing to that. The form that they typically want that research in though, unfortunately, is a two-page synthesis, and you know how difficult that is. We have had a major project at the Laboratory that has been attempting to do synthesis in critical subject areas, and it's very difficult. It becomes pretty labor intensive. What you really need is a person who lives and works somewhere between the research community and the schools. I have come to discover that not many people are willing to stand up and say, "I'm willing to do that," because it is hard. You can't afford not to stay in touch with what is going on in research and have confidence that you can describe that, talk about it, back it up with information and reports that will be valuable. But you have got to be fast on your feet. And that's the kind of person that is able to fill that gap that people typically talk about research and practice.

I think that Susan Johnson's research is the most beneficial playing card that I have gotten here simply because I now know and can say, on the basis of that, that "you don't really have to be totally stymied by that contract".

Frequently, as I negotiated or brokered the staff development effort for all of those school districts, what they said was, "We can't get that because of our collective bargaining problems". I now can at least say, "There are some principals who learn how to live with that and there are some teachers who work around that. Why don't you read this?" And, unless I get a prohibition, anything that I collect I use in the school district. I say, "Why don't you read this? Then at our next meeting we will talk about how to do staff development for principals." Milbrey this morning said that the state departments are identifying more and more generalists. In some ways the research community and some of you in the colleges of education that are closing up and who might become jobless should consider this. We need more and more people who can cross disciplines, cross methodologies, cross theories a bit, well enough to listen to the problem and make some response to school districts.

I'm going to summarize now what concerns I have. This conference was directed toward what new knowledge you should produce, what research you need to do. I guess I have been trying to find what is on the utilization side. Lauren Resnick said in an article recently in an R & D report that we know a lot more than we have learned how to apply. I don't think it is unwillingness on the part of school people. They say we don't know how to tell them what to do very well. We have some of the solutions, but they are not capable of using them primarily because we have not done enough work on the structures they need to use those solutions. Jane Stallings's work is a prime example of that. She is not likely to be cloned (unless someone knows something that I don't know) very soon so she can only do so much of that. She has had some success working in our region to train a person almost as good to carry that load in a school district

and to do the training and the followup with the teachers. So there's one model. But for every one of these innovations that are coming out of the research community, there's a problem with how to use it. That's one line of policy research I would suggest, because frequently that gets negotiated by the superintendent and the board. I would suggest that there be more work on how to use innovations. I think Jane took care of my concern about how to use it for kids age 10 or above, because that's where the problem is in the schools. The primary school is reportedly showing improvement already.

I would like to end with just a little story. One school district in the Midwest called me and said that they had this reading achievement problem. 90% of the calls I get have to do with that problem. The reading achievement problem was grades 4 through 12. They wanted help with what new materials to select. They said, "Who do you know that could come up and talk to us about that?" Well, I knew that there was a lot more there so I said, "why don't I come out and see what you have collected, see what your data look like, see how teachers are feeling (you said you did a survey), and talk to you first before I recommend anything?" So we had a long talk and it turned out that they really were concerned about the fact that somebody in the evaluation division had done an observation study. The teachers in fourth, fifth, and sixth grades taught reading about half of the allocated time. Even within the allocated time, teachers spent only about half the time with real reading instruction. And that included time for kids to read. And as I began this discussion, I came up with the list of 12 resources from the research community that I could get them to consider. And I started with a person who came in and did three-day sessions with principals and moved through a series of people, including someone from the R & D Center in Texas. The moral of the story is that the school board had

tired of financial retrenchment and had allocated a million dollars for the purchase of a program that was going to fix everything. The decision that finally got made at the end of two years was that the million dollars was put in escrow for this school district to use during the next five years. Now, you know future planning is up in the air. That may have been reversed last month--I didn't attend the meeting last month. But it was in escrow for staff development, for supplementary materials, and for data collection on what is going on in schools. The moral really is that you can get better decisions in school districts if you have a bag of resources to provide. I consider that essentially a policy decision on the part of the school board and a really important finding for us. There is enough wisdom to listen and to consider that those of you who do research have something to say. And while I really like all of the notions for inquiry in the future, I'm awfully afraid that they are not going to wait for long for us to come up with a solution. I would invite many more of you to go and live where I live for a part of your time.

W.W. Charters, Jr.:

One of the purposes of this conference was to help CEPM chart its course into the future--to call attention to perspectives and issues that deserve special consideration. In my view it has proved provocative and useful in this regard. The work of the Center has been organized around a paradigm that we have been developing during the last several years. It is designed to bring order out of a highly complex world by highlighting a few central features and ignoring many other things. I have listened throughout the conference with one ear attuned to ideas for important work that are not caught up in the paradigm as presently conceived and that would elude us. Have we excluded some of the

wrong things? Have we neglected significant ways of formulating our problems? If so, how can the paradigm be repaired?

Several concerns came to mind as I listened to the papers and discussions, and I want to share just one of them with you. It has to do with a mark of an effective school we take so much for granted that we are likely to overlook it: its ability to instill an interest in students to continue their exposure to schooling.

Our unfolding paradigm does not capture this problem area well and may be too narrowly conceived. As it is, we have taken as our starting point the conditions of classroom instruction that are known through a substantial body of contemporary research to enhance cognitive learning and then have sought to trace out the institutional arrangements, managerial practices, and policy instruments of the larger school and school-district setting that are likely to have a bearing on the presence of those conditions. We have adopted the image from which the research proceeds--the teacher's instructional behavior with respect to students within the particular classroom--and have singled out such variables as time on task, available time for instruction, and, as Jane Stallings has emphasized, how the instructional time is used. The image has urged us into a model in which the outcomes of schooling (principally cognitive ones) are seen as the aggregate of classroom instructional conditions and in which the teacher is the prime mediator.

One of the things Stallings said is terribly important for enriching our perspective. She said, the teacher cannot reach students who are not there. This led her into reporting some effects of her instructional process variables on student tardiness and absenteeism. In her paper, though, she went beyond this to reflect on policies and practices taken at the school level, not just by

individual teachers, that could reduce absenteeism. If time on task is a central consideration in determining cognitive outcomes, certainly it is worth taking as problemmatic the extreme of off-task behavior, which is not being in school at all. The broader issue, and one which threatens to escape the net of our paradigm, concerns the conditions of the classroom, school, and larger institutional setting that keep youngsters interested in exposing themselves to further instruction. It seems inarguable that one criterion of an effective public service agency is its success in inducing clients to continue to partake of the services it has to offer.

A number of salient issues of public school administration come into focus if we consider the interest of students (or their parents) in exposure to further instruction and schooling as a worthy outcome variable. Stallings pointed to a set at a rather immediate level of "furtherness" in her concern for the inducement of youngsters to attend classes, and Bob Slavin triggered more thoughts in my mind as he talked about self-esteem as one of the effects of teaching in cooperative groups. Surely the esteem youngsters have of themselves as learners, as well as a number of the factors that educational psychologists like to call the "affective outcomes" of schooling, carry implications for attendance and attitudes toward further schooling. How can schools, through their teachers, extra-curricular programs, ceremonies, and climate, efficiently enhance them?

On a somewhat broader plane, there is the matter of competition for enrollment. Some years ago my colleague, Dick Carlson, referred to the public schools as a domesticated institution, with a guaranteed clientele and no need to expend effort in recruiting students. While generally true, it is true within

limits. Schools have long been concerned with maintaining their membership--an issue often addressed under the label of the "drop-out problem." Public schools compete with the attractions of harvesting potatoes, working at McDonald's, or just hanging out on the street corner. In these days of declining enrollments, the loss of potential students to competing institutions of education is a matter of growing significance, if for no other reason than the impact it has on the school's revenue sources. Declining enrollments are not driven altogether by birth rates, as witness the unparallelled increases of enrollment in private, church-related schools of the nation at the same time public school enrollments have dropped. Moreover, competition with private schools for the allegiance of students and their parents has a discernible impact on the structure of school-community relations--on who takes what kind of interest in tax and bond elections, school closures, and other policy issues. Public-school administrators in districts where one-third of the school-age youth are not attending the public schools confront distinctly different and more complex contingencies than those in communities not divided along such palpable lines. In what degree is the loss of enrollment simply a matter of disaffection with the (perceived) inability of the public school to do what it claims to do and, within that degree, what steps can the public schools take to win back its clientele?

We might conceive of inducing in students the interest in continuing to partake of the offerings of education at a still more remote level of "furtherness." One could take seriously the idealism of humanistic educators who express the view that the public school's task is to make "life-long learners" of its students. It is not especially hard to think of approximate indicators of such an attitude. College attendance rate is the most familiar and easily accessed, but it should be supplemented by inclinations of high

school graduates to go into trade schools, barber colleges, night schools, employee training programs, Great Books courses, and even the offerings of correspondence schools (although, perhaps not those advertised on match-book covers). What is it about school districts that send a disproportionate share of their students to college, considering the socio-economic composition of the student bodies, and into other formal educational programs? Can we learn anything of policy relevance from their success?

The general point is that in framing the work of the Center we should not concentrate too narrowly on the practices and procedures of schools that make for cognitive achievement and neglect questions regarding practices and procedures (beyond compulsory education laws) that bring students under the school purview in the first place.

Postscript

The quality of the comments on each of the conference's formal presentations makes further synthesis somewhat superfluous. A brief recapitulation, however, may be helpful after such a heterogeneous set of remarks. In addition, we would like to record some of the highlights of small group discussions following the formal sessions, where conference attendees, including school administrators and teachers, had an opportunity to interact with panel participants and other researchers.

Session I.

Stallings presented a persuasive program for inservice teacher education and a set of recommendations for administrators who wish to improve conditions of classroom instruction. Cooley argued for a more active role for building-level administrators in coordinating various district programs aimed at student achievement problems. Slavin broadened our notion of important student outcomes and instructional formats for reaching them, and he strongly seconded Stallings' call for an instructional program based on proven teaching techniques. Hersh pointed out how atypical Stallings' inservice program is in terms of the typical district approach to professional development--the one-day workshop. Hersh implied a more positive role for building-level administrators in supporting the continuous coaching model and challenged district administrators to create the policy framework within which such a role would be rewarding for the principal.

Later, in Session IV, Willis pointed out the problems in translating and disseminating the sort of research findings on which Stallings' program

is based; she emphasized the importance of keeping administrators abreast of new research and development products. Also, Charters argued that Stallings' advocacy of strong school attendance policies pointed to a deficiency in the CEPM paradigm--its neglect of student motivation to avail themselves of educational opportunities.

During small group discussions of the Session I remarks, considerable support was expressed by practitioners for the intensive and continuous professional development program, based on research, that Stallings' work represents. Some thought that such a program should be targeted on teachers who really need it--and acknowledge the need--rather than on all teachers in a district. Sometimes, this might mean a rotating district inservice team that could come in to help schools with identified problems in student achievement. Wherever such a program is attempted, however, the need to restructure school time must be recognized. Teachers cannot devote the energy needed to such an effort without some release from the day-to-day pressures of teaching. Moreover, efforts to change teacher behavior must coincide with the natural divisions of the school year; teachers are unlikely to make large alterations in the middle of a semester.

The importance of the existing faculty norms was stressed. Glen Fielding joined the enthusiasm for using pairs of teachers to observe and advise one another in incorporating new techniques, but he reported that teachers are likely to use each other, initially, as aides rather than as professional development partners. In general, the group dynamics of a school faculty are vital to the success of an inservice effort, and the principal must be aware of potential conflict.

While Beverly Showers and others attested to the natural interest of teachers in research on their work problems, the problem of translating such research appeared to many practitioners as a real stumbling block. Gary Griffin, of the Texas R & D Center on Teacher Education, suggested that teachers be involved from the beginning as collaborators or even instigators of research. He saw such efforts as far more productive in terms of use of findings by other teachers than the conventional university-oriented effort. On the other hand, several discussants saw teachers as more sensitive to university faculty than to their own colleagues as "sources of instructional leadership."

There was some skepticism about the replicability of Stallings' techniques. In the absence of detail about her program for working with teachers, Griffin wondered whether her own rather extraordinary research background might not be the decisive factor, and how this might be "cloned" (in Willis' phrase) is not clear.

Session II.

Johnson provided a very stimulating analysis of the interaction of administrative leadership and collective bargaining. Her suggestion that some administrators were able to generate a strong school spirit and win teacher cooperation with new initiatives in spite of potential contractual barriers was seized by Cohen as a call for new theory building in research on schools as organizations. Cohen argued that a weakening of formal-organizational powers of administrators by collective bargaining might be irrelevant to the real bases of administrative influence on teachers. Such bases are teacher dependence on good school management by administrators and teacher appreciation for special supportive gestures made by administrators (which might include provision of good inservice education). Clemans was intrigued

by the apparent importance of school spirit and suggested that administrators may be devoting too little attention to encouraging school faculty norms regarding expectations of students and service to students. Eberts warned, however, that the impact of collective bargaining--and by implication administrative leadership--on student outcomes is a complex matter and requires more than case studies. In the summary session, Charters picked up on Cohen's example of school discipline as an administrative service to teachers and argued that school effects on student motivation and deportment are an even more fundamental administrative function.

The discussion groups voiced a challenge to the key assumption of Session II that administrators have been, are, or might be "instructional leaders." One participant suggested this was wish fulfillment on the part of researchers and policy makers. Building on Cohen's remarks, Gary Griffin argued at length that principals play at best a "broker" role in stimulating and rewarding teachers in their encounters with new techniques. He felt that a principal, through indirect but persistent actions, might generate faculty norms about school effectiveness and professional development. Some administrators present attested to the impact of principals on school effectiveness, based on their inspection of long-term achievement data as principals were shifted from school to school, but they called for research on how principals have such an impact.

There seemed to be consensus that administrators were not as knowledgeable about curriculum, supervision, and student learning problems as they would need to be in order to be successful brokers of teacher improvement efforts. Nor were administrators likely to be aware of the degree to which manifold other duties take time away from contact with teachers and visibility in the school. While a realistic approach to what is possible for administrative leadership

was advocated, such an approach must be based on better data, available to the administrator, on how he or she actually spends time.

The informal bargaining relationship between administrators and teachers was seen to antedate collective bargaining. Charters pointed out the dependence of administrative leadership on coalitions with powerful faculty subgroups, and administrators today need to maintain these coalitions, remaining neutral during collective bargaining negotiations and avoiding adversarial dealings with the school faculty. The administrator's bargaining position was seen to depend on administrative influence with the central district office, which in turn derives from the dependability of the school parent support group--another important target for the administrator desiring to become an "instructional leader."

Related to this last point was the observation that Johnson's study was relatively silent about pre-collective-bargaining relationships in the schools she studied. There was a call for studies of principal-faculty relationships over a longer period of time, with particular sensitivity to the effects of principal turnover.

The feeling seemed to be that teachers at present are not pushing for contract provisions delving deeply into instructional policy, although they may reserve that right on paper for the future. In fact, it was felt that ambivalence over the union's position in the governance of schools may make teachers natural allies of administrators in keeping informal instructional policy, by which curriculum is revised and special efforts initiated to deal with student learning problems, out of the contract. This is another instance of how a de-coupling of the instructional program from the formal organization (including the employment contract) can serve to facilitate

instructional improvement rather than instructional stagnation. The implication was for research on de facto as well as de jure bargaining among teachers and administrators.

Session III.

Zeigler's claim proved provocative, that administrators perceive far less conflict in and dissatisfaction with district policy than might be surmised from the "crisis" mentality exhibited in Sessions I and II. Narver argued that community dissatisfaction with the instructional program was most likely to manifest itself at the school building level, and McLaughlin located the focus of policy formation, conflict, and dissatisfaction at the state rather than the district level. Both felt that Zeigler may be underestimating school conflict by concentrating on district administrators. Kelly suggested that a study of conflict and dissatisfaction with school policy should look at relationships between administrators and citizens rather than just administrators' role perceptions. While some of the controversy in this session may derive from the tension between Zeigler's descriptive orientation and the reactors' prescriptive orientations, sufficient reasons were given to expand our notions of the effective context of policy that governs school instructional programs. Perhaps only a model which looks at building, district, and state policy interactions and the publics involved at each level will be adequate for the instructional effectiveness concerns of Sessions I and II. Later, in Session IV, Duke added a warning about the demographic and technological changes which are likely to generate new adaptive challenges for public schools in the years ahead. A fresh look is needed at the composition and priorities of the "consumers" of the schools' services.

Small group discussion on this session generally centered around demographic, political, and economic factors that have brought about changes both in the pool of those who participate in, and those who are affected by, educational policymaking. Concerning the policymaking process, the overall consensus was that the state role had expanded and that in many states, sets of legislative and gubernatorial analysts have gained more influence over educational matters.

Comments were focussed on the impact of special interest groups at the local and state levels. One person suggested that school board members increasingly represent differentiated groups: minority populations, parents of special education students, and pro- and anti-teacher union factions. Another participant remarked that there is a growing need for the education lobby to enter into coalitions with other interest groups to maintain its level of state support. As an example, she described how the governor of North Carolina had successfully forged an alliance between the education and business communities to get the lgislature to increase state funding for education with the aim of attracting new industries.

A special area of interest was the impact of information generated by research on the policymaking process. One member suggested that information regarding state finance of education was especially important since legislatures have a relatively high degree of discretion over school funds. This notion was supported by another's example from the state of California. She argued that since the education establishment had gathered data to support a high level of state funding for education as a response to the Serrano decision, educational interests were less harmed by Proposition 13 than other

social services which did not have supportive data readily available. On the other hand, data used at the state level to gain funds may not affect how the support is ultimately utilized at the local level. For example, some urban districts such as New York City and Portland, Oregon, receive lump sums from their state legislatures purportedly to finance compensatory education programs, but such funds are not targeted to those programs. At a more general level, others commented that state agencies often do not know what kind of information is needed or how to analyze the large amounts of data that have already been collected in a manner which would lead to more rational educational policies. In one state, as an example, there was a heavy emphasis on a minimum competency program, but no data was collected to assess the effects of the minimum competency testing requirements.

When discussing information needs at the local level, one person voiced a concern that superintendents often do not give public groups and individuals the relevant facts they need to express informed viewpoints. As a result, the public may feel manipulated and this may adversely affect future bond elections. Another member remarked that the basic problem may not be a question of manipulation, but rather that the public is not aware of all the facts since it is usually only those that are related to a crisis issue that are considered to be newsworthy.

There was an overall consensus that a common data base at both the local and state levels may help to lessen the degree of unnecessary conflict. It was also felt that a common information base would facilitate comprehensive and "transectoral" planning, for example, so that the education sector might find it easier to cooperate with the private sector or other segments of the public sector over a school closing. At the state level, a comprehensive data base may, for instance, lead to more cost-efficient use of specialized

personnel in the rural areas as a result of strategic planning for itinerant services. It was generally felt that long-range planning has become infeasible due to rapid changes in economic, political, and demographic factors and that there is an overall need to develop contingency plans to adapt to such changes. Unfortunately, at a time when localities most need technical assistance from states to guide their planning efforts, many states lack the resources to provide such help. Ironically, it is in those states in which assistance is most needed, that funding for such state programs is the lowest and is unlikely to increase given present economic conditions.

As the above summary of small group discussants' remarks may suggest, there was a wealth of new insights provided by the interaction of researchers and practitioners in these settings. CEPM is incorporating some of these insights in its program plans for coming years. However, the total yield of this sort of idea and information exchange includes more than the new knowledge produced by formal research. It is just this sort of event that sets people thinking in new ways about common problems in education and that produces a cross-fertilization of perspectives between people who work in schools and people who work in universities. In the long run, these many small changes in thinking and acting result in better research and better practice. What is important is that meetings like the 1981 CEPM conference occur with reasonable regularity. Toward this end, we are planning a 1982 conference to build on this year's gains.

Appendix A

Conference Roster

"Creating Conditions for Effective Teaching"

Conference Roster

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